National Anti-Slavery Standard.

VOL. XXIV. NO. 43. NEW YORK, SATURDAY, MARCH 5, 1864. WHOLE NO. 1,239.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

PUBLISHED WEEKLY, ON SATURDAY,

AT $2 50 PER ANNUM,

BY THE

AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

At its Office, No. 48 Beekman Street, New York

AND AT THE OFFICE OF THE

PENNSYLVANIA ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

106 *North-Tenth Street, Philadelphia.*

LETTERS should be addressed to OLIVER JOHNSON, *Editor of The Anti-Slavery Standard*, 48 Beekman-st., New York.

ADVERTISEMENTS, 10 cents per line each insertion.

Pro-Slavery.

In this Department we give place to such extracts from the Pro-Slavery Press, North and South, as serve best to illustrate the character of Slavery and the spirit of its champions and apologists.

GEORGE THOMPSON IN AMERICA AGAIN.

From The Springfield Republican.

WHEN the rebellion broke out, and for a long time after, the British Abolitionists sympathized openly with the rebels. We were astonished at this and thought it a wicked inconsistency in them to wish success to a rebellion made in behalf of slavery. But there was really nothing strange or inconsistent in it. They had been educated to it. The apostles of abolition that we had for years been sending to England —Garrison, Pillsbury, Wright, and the rest—had earnestly and consistently preached the doctrine, "the only deliverance for the slave is over the ruins of the American Church and the American Union." Their British converts believed this, and when they saw the Union endangered by a great rebellion they thought it the sure means of deliverance to the slave, and therefore wished it success. It took long time and effort to dispel these old prejudices and bring them to see that in the success of the government and the perpetuation of the Union lies the best hope for the removal of slavery.

George Thompson, the leading English advocate of abolition, now on his third visit to this country, in a speech in Boston the other night, claimed credit for helping to set British opinion right towards this country. He has undoubtedly contributed to that end, and it was but an act of justice and due reparation for past injuries on his part, for hitherto he has associated and labored with those who created that false opinion. While in this country before, he affiliated entirely with the Abolitionists who openly sought the destruction of both Church and State as the necessary means of removing slavery, and was as vehement in his attacks upon the religious as upon the political institutions of the country. It was then the custom of our Abolitionists to denounce as friends and supporters of slavery all who did not join their ranks, and being a stranger, Mr. Thompson accepted that as true, or professed to do so, and made himself obnoxious by stigmatizing American citizens of character and position, quite as sincerely opposed to slavery as himself, but not ready to destroy the government and the Church in order to remove it. It was not their hostility to slavery that made the Garrison Abolitionists odious, so much as the anarchical and destructive measures they proposed, and their gross injustice to all who did not approve those measures. Their fanaticism and madness repelled the best men from the cause they advocated, and made it next to impossible for a patriotic or Christian man to confess himself an Abolitionist.

Mr. Thompson finds a different condition of things now. The Church stands firmer than ever, though the Garrison Abolitionists are not yet reconciled to it, and the people of the North have shown their real feeling towards slavery by welcoming gladly the opportunity offered by the war to seek its utter destruction. They could not be persuaded by the Abolitionists to violate the fundamental law in order to kill slavery; but they are ready enough to kill slavery in order to maintain that law. Facts have corrected Mr. Thompson's former notion that it was necessary to destroy the American Church and Union in order to destroy slavery; he should also correct his false notion that there is any attachment to slavery among the people of our free States. And if he also corrects himself, and avoids that looseness of personal invective, indecorous even in a citizen and disgusting in a stranger, which formerly marked his public efforts in this country, Mr. Thompson's third visit to the United States may neither be unpleasant nor unprofitable to himself. He will not find the American people, however, in a mood to be patronized by himself or any other Englishman, for after such treatment as we have had from the British government and people, their approval or disapproval is a matter to which we are not in the least degree sensitive.

MONSIEUR TONSON COME AGAIN.

From The N. Y. Examiner (Baptist).

GEORGE THOMPSON, of England, has come to our shores again, and is being glorified in Boston. When he was here before, he was followed and fawned upon by a certain uneasy and conceited class, and he has been in correspondence with them, more or less, ever since, and has been quite a big gun, in his pop-gun way, of that foolish and functionless abolitionism wherewith it has been the practice of our British cousins to pelt us for the past twenty years. And now there is a likelihood that he and his admirers will as much overrate themselves as they did before. He sounded a note before he started, to the effect that having been among the first exposers of the sin of slavery in this country, he hoped to be in time to see it wiped out.

Men of Mr. Thompson's quality—and the charge strikes at a good many self-sufficient folks here at home—*have not* been the important movers in emancipation that they suppose themselves. Emancipation has thriven in spite of them. They always advocated a policy that would have made slavery a permanency in this country; and nothing saved the North from the disgrace and dishonor which the South has heaped upon itself, except the fact that these men were in a small minority.

THE UNION.

From The Journal of Commerce.

IT cannot but be observed as a peculiar characteristic of the times that the dominant party have ceased entirely to profess love for the Union or a desire for its restoration. Having used the name of Union for the purpose of catching votes, they have dropped the whole principle of Union, and now avow themselves as solely and wholly devoted to conquest and abolition. We verily believe that greater hypocrisy was never known among men than has characterized the leading politicians on the radical side. The abolition motto, "the Constitution is a league with death and a covenant with hell," was never any too strong to characterize the hatred with which they regarded the Constitution and the Union, and it fully illustrates the sentiments which we have so often exposed as underlying the whole radical party movement. We doubt whether a press in the party can be found today which dare avow itself in favor of the Union, except on conditions. The constant charge of "conditional Unionism" which was so often hurled at their opponents is now fixed firmly on the entire radical party. They are "conditional Unionists" according to their own confessions, and real disunionists beyond any doubt. They are in favor of driving out of the Union and keeping out of the Union every State which will not abolish slavery. If after conquering the rebellion there should be any prospect of being able to restore the peaceful and prosperous relations heretofore existing between the States, the radical party are pledged to obstruct and oppose any attempt to do so except on condition of compelling the people of the South to adopt a social system dictated by the people of the North. That is a plain statement of the fact. By an arbitrary and foolish assertion of a political party, the institution of slavery has been declared a *particeps criminis*, or an operating cause of the crime of rebellion. The war which had been for suppressing the rebellion was thus charged with the separate and distinct purpose of abolishing slavery. The Union passed out of view. Slavery became the enemy to be attacked and suppressed. The Union was no longer the prominent object to be preserved, and it soon ceased to be any object at all in the minds of many politicians on the radical side. Nor is there any prospect whatever, on the radical plan, that the Union will ever again be heard of among nations. Mr. Lincoln has indeed devised a notable plan by which one-nineteenth of the inhabitants of a Southern State may poll the electoral vote of the whole State in the next Presidential election. But no one is found, in any party, who pretends that this plan has any serious look towards the restoration of peace and affection between Northern and Southern States. The radical party like it only because it does not interfere with their plans of holding power in the country.

If there be any one who hopes for the Union of the States under the Constitution, or even from any Union under any Constitution, let that man solemnly consider the necessity of a change of Administration and a change of policy as the only possible method by which it can be accomplished. The radical method of conducting war, and the radical plan of peace are hopeless. The Union is no longer even the avowed object of the radical party.

Selections.

THE PROGRESS OF ABOLITION OF SLAVERY IN MARYLAND.

Correspondence of The Tribune.

BALTIMORE, Feb. 9, 1864.

SOME months have passed since my last letter to *The Tribune* on this subject. It was, I think, in June last. Just about that time, I pulled the mask off the face of the old fossils under the lead of Maffit, then Controller of the State. They then sought to still the rising waves of Abolition by pouring what they called Union oil upon them; but instead of being what they swore it was, it proved to be Pro-Slavery venom, and the result was a storm that swept this reactionist party out of existence. You will remember how indignantly Mr. Maffit denied my impeachment of his pretended Union Slavemongering party; but it was all in vain. I had struck the serpent, and the people dispatched him in last November with twenty odd thousand good and sufficient blows.

The Administration did not believe, at any time, from June to November, that the people of Maryland were in real earnest about abolishing slavery, and restoring to their God-given rights some eighty odd thousand slaves which the rebellion had left us. It thought that we were running our machine on too high a plane, and that we should be smashed up. Hence Postmaster-Gen. Blair's copperish speech at Rockville, and many other little things, kindly intended to break our fall and teach us humility. But the people's backs were up, and they swept all before them, in spite of lukewarmness and hostility in unexpected quarters, in spite of the Governor and the reactionary party headed by Maffit. It is true, the military authority, then wielded by that very earnest and able General who consigned the infamous Vallandigham to the shades of private life, sympathized with us and our cause, and he not only threw no obstacles in our pathway, but actually removed many stones that got there, no one now cares to inquire how.

The President would not only not interfere in our matters, but forbade the exercise of any Federal influence, beyond the moral support that his own hostility to slavery afforded, and Gen. Schenck did nothing that any real friend of his country could except to. He simply did his duty. He protected the ballot-box from violence and the pollution of traitors' votes, so far as his power went, and had not the Governor intervened, Col. Holland would now be holding Mr. Harris's seat from the 5th District.

The history of the last Congressional and State campaign in Maryland, fought upon the broad ground of the Abolition of Slavery by the people themselves, was the most brilliant election result ever achieved, perhaps, in this country. Up to the middle of August, the Abolitionists had not even decided upon inaugurating an Abolition campaign. It was the 1st of September before they got fairly into the field, but when they did get into it they routed their opponents at every point except in the dark slavery regions of the Patuxent Pocket.

How could it be otherwise, under the lead of such men as H. Winter Davis, Henry W. Hoffman, Henry W. Goldsborough, Col. Creswell, Ex-Gov. Frank Thomas, Judge Bond, and a score of other gentlemen of equal power as orators and advocates of Abolition? The speeches of Mr. Controller Goldsborough, the slaveholder, carried conviction to every hearer and reader, while the pen of Stewart, all aglow with the fire of Edmund Burke, thundered anathemas and irresistible arguments against the sum of human villanies through the editorials of the Baltimore *American*.

The battle over, and the smoke cleared away, the victors reposed upon their hard-earned laurels. While they slept, their fossil opponents were awake. They leaped into the saddle of the Abolition steed, and bounded away, over hill and dale, crying at the top of their voices, *Huzza for universal Abolition!* And they are now urging that fiery steed onward, and as one of the "side-issue" orators of the last Fall canvass openly avowed at Annapolis the other day, they intend to ride him until every vestige of slavery is abolished in Maryland, and the rights of the black man assured to him under equal laws with the whites. They say they care not who saddled that steed, and won his first race. They have jumped into his saddle, and intend not to be jostled out, in the graphic language of Ex-Mayor Swann.

The men who declared abolition to be a "side-issue," who nominated and supported Maffit as an anti-Conventionist, who did their best to defeat the Abolitionists with Goldsborough in the lead, suddenly chopped round, after the election, in solemn conclave resolved to accept the decision of the people, and forthwith raised the cry of "Immediate Abolition." With this cry they stunned the ears of the Legislature elect, took its organization out of the hands of the men who had chosen it, and elected a United States Senator and Treasurer of their own kidney. They next got up a speaking bout at Annapolis, at which they intended to nominate Mr. Lincoln for reelection, but in this the original Abolitionists were too sharp for them, for the Lower House took the wind out of their sails, and actually voted the renomination of Mr. Lincoln, while a similar resolution was offered in the Senate by Mr. Stirling, of Baltimore.

The original Abolitionists, by whom I do not mean the Republicans of Maryland, but the Know-Nothings, Democrats, and old Whigs, did not care a snap of their fingers as to the men who should carry out Abolition in the State, and hence they rather enjoyed the extraordinary conversions of their recent opponents, and the eagerness with which they seized upon the offices to be distributed. But these original Abolitionists intend to hold the new converts up to the line of their duty, and they have the power to do so.

The Convention bill is as good as secured, and that, too, under auspices of the most favorable sort, looking to the final result. The strife is about to begin in the primary meetings, as to the men who shall control the political Abolition organization of the State, and as to the nomination of the candidates for the Convention itself. It will be a hot strife. At one time, it looked as though there would be harmonious action, but the new lights won't agree. They adopt the platform of the original Abolitionists. They out-Herod the latter in their war-cry, but whether they will be trusted is another question. "Immediate emancipation, no compensation, no apprenticeship," are the mottoes of the original Abolitionists. Their new-born competitors will, no doubt, steal the thunder of the victors of November, but their men will illustrate their meaning. The people are prepared to meet them at Philippi. The people are not satisfied with the behavior of their Legislature, nor are they less displeased with the trickery of the men who did all they could to defeat them in November last, and now claim their confidence.

The grand purpose of the rump of the slavemongers in this State is now to get possession of the Convention, so as to vote compensation to the owners of slaves, and make abolition as odious as possible, by adopting some sort of apprenticeship. The Radicals are prepared to meet them at the polls, and they will defeat these enemies of abolition in disguise. We shall have to do it against great odds, but we shall do it. One of the schemes of the slavemongers is to seize upon the Sinking Fund of the State for distribution among the slave-owners. The people will not suffer this, nor will they consent to taxation for the benefit of the ex-slave aristocracy. The 700,000 non-slaveholding whites and the 100,000 free blacks (their power is of course indirect, but they are a power nevertheless) have decreed the extirpation of slavery in Maryland, and they will not suffer any burdens to be put upon the eighty thousand freedmen to be rescued from bondage, in the way of disabilities, apprenticeship, fixed wages, restraint on locomotion, or any of the multifarious devices of the old negro oppressor. The sceptre of the sixteen thousand slaveholders is broken, forever broken. The moral question is stirring the public heart, and woe to the slavemonger who shall attempt to quench the fire.

I have thought that this brief review of the progress of the conflict between Freedom and Slavery in Maryland, at this juncture, might not be without its use. I only give you the salient points. Let your readers keep an eye open to events in this quarter for the next few months, and they will witness strange things, but out of them all will come a FREE MARYLAND, WITH EQUAL LAWS FOR ALL HER INHABITANTS, BEFORE THE 4TH OF JULY, 1864. W. G. S.

P. S. *Feb.* 10.—Since the above was written, the Legislature has passed the Convention bill. It is all that could be desired. Now will come the tug of war. God reigns, and the Radicals will be triumphant! Just stick a pin there, and mark the issue.

BALTIMORE, Feb. 20, 1864.

In my letter of the 9th inst., I predicted that Radicalism would carry the city and State in the approaching primary elections, and told you to stick a pin there.

Well, the primary elections were held last Saturday, the 13th inst., and it has turned out just as I prophesied. The Radical Abolitionists have carried two-thirds of the political State Convention, which is to assemble in this city on Monday, the 22d inst.

In Baltimore, the Reactionists, or rather the new Abolitionists who are for abolition provided it never takes place, those gentlemen who jump into other people's saddles, without reference to the ancient and venerable right of property even in saddles, had stripped for a life-and-death fight. The Radicals were ready for them, and the contest has proved a death-fight to their hopes, for they were whipped in seventeen out of twenty Wards.

It was a strategic fight on the part of our opponents, a sort of McClellan campaign. They used all sorts of strategy, and as falsifying is the essence of strategy, they dealt in that element very largely, but all to no purpose. They insisted, these neo-Abolitionists, that it was not the abolition of slavery that was the question, because on this everybody was agreed, but that it was the Presidential question which was involved. President Price, of the old City Convention, the U. S. District-Attorney, came out in a card, and gave countenance to this idea. They had tickets headed "Lincoln and Swann," a collocation that made the town burst with laughter. Voters were badgered with questions of fealty to Mr. Lincoln and Mr. M. Blair. While everybody was for Lincoln for President nobody was for M. Blair, except their ticket-holders, for anything. The general condemnation of Mr. M. Blair's inexperience in our political matters, and of his silly letter to Mr. Fulton, insisting that the faith of the government was as much pledged to Federal compensation to Maryland slaveholders as to the redemption of the 5.20s, was expressed in language far more forcible than polite.

The war-cry of the Radicals was, "Immediate Emancipation—no State compensation—no negro apprenticeship," and it carried all before it where its friends were in earnest. In some of the Wards, where the attempt was made to appropriate the popularity of Mr. Lincoln, the Radicals met it by proposing a resolution of preference for him for President, which was unanimously carried. The principle of earnest, real Abolition overrode all Presidential considerations, and it is the attainment of this purpose that animated the people of Maryland, and they will have it, let who may be the next President. That every loyal body is for Mr. Lincoln there is no question, but the abolition of slavery in good faith, and the abrogation of the black race in toto, are the first and last purposes of the Maryland people.

The City Convention, elected at last Saturday's primary meetings, met last evening. It organized by putting Mr. Streeter in the chair, an uncompromising Abolitionist, and a gentleman who has won the confidence of the Radicals by his persistent advocacy of abolition, through good and evil report. He is one of the Commission for awarding compensation to loyal slaveholders, appointed by the Secretary of War. Mr. Hebden, another Abolitionist, was made the Secretary.

Things went on without a ruffle on the surface until a member, who had got into the Convention by proxy, and who had earned some notoriety as an especial friend and appointee of Mr. M. Blair, proposed Francis Preston Blair, Sen., as a delegate to the Republican Union National Convention. This was the signal for a dissenting expression of opinion by the Convention that completely silenced the mover, and some eight or ten others who favored his motion. The expressions of disapprobation took the form of hisses, about which there could be no mistake. It was the outburst of a long pent-up feeling of indignation at Mr. M. Blair's course in Maryland politics, and that, too, by a Convention numbering 100 delegates, every one of whom is in favor of Mr. Lincoln's renomination and reelection. The world will discover before very long that Marylanders do their own thinking and voting, without outside dictation.

Nominations for delegates to the political State Convention of the 22d inst. were then proceeded with, and every man nominated arose and avowed himself a Lincoln man for the next Presidency, and adopted the Radical Abolition shibboleth, the war-cry that carried the city. The man who nominated Mr. F. P. Blair, Sr., as Delegate at Large to the National Convention was pitted against Mr. Streeter from the Eleventh and Twelfth Wards, but Mr. Streeter beat him by 79 to 16—5 blanks! This was confirmation, strong as holy writ, of the temper of the Convention, which then adopted resolutions of the most radical order, placing the principle of the abolition of slavery first, and nominating Mr. Lincoln, as the representative of that principle, for the next Presidency.

A number of gentlemen was then nominated as candidates for the State Constitutional Convention, from whom will be selected 11 for the city ticket. A Committee of three decided Radicals, of which Mr. Streeter is Chairman, was appointed to catechize the candidates, and to report to an adjourned meeting of the Convention the 2d of March.

The news from the counties is very gratifying. Kent County sends up to the State Convention of the 22d inst. three ultra Radicals. The meeting that sent them resolved that the time had come to reject with scorn the blandishments of the harlot, slavery, etc. Baltimore County has sent up a sort of skimmed-milk delegation, but there may be some cream floating to the surface before the work is done.

There will be a violent struggle in the State Convention for the ascendancy on the part of the minority, but it will not avail. The Radicals will sweep the platform. Stick another pin there! W. G. S.

KIDNAPPING IN KENTUCKY.

GOV. BRAMLETTE has sent a message to the Legislature of Kentucky on the subject of fugitives from other States, formerly slaves, who have been arrested in Kentucky under the statutes of that State, and are kept in jail and liable to be sold for jail fees or otherwise. We have heretofore called attention to their condition, deeming it the duty of the United States military authorities to interpose in their behalf, on the ground that they became free by the Proclamation of Emancipation, and that the government could not permit a State law and State officials, as those of Kentucky in many instances had done, to nullify that ordinance. We are glad to find Gov. Bramlette taking a view not essentially different, though he makes the mistake—perhaps an accident of phraseology—of regarding them still as slaves. Practically, however, he repairs it by recognizing the rebellion of their former masters as a bar to the enforcement of any claim of ownership. The consequence has been that the negroes have been left upon the soil and in the jails of Kentucky, without protection against slave hunters, except such as the military authorities have incidentally and occasionally afforded. Gov. Bramlette sees that such a state of things is becoming intolerable, and invokes the interposition of the State Legislature.

We consider it more properly a case for Congress or for the Executive. The fugitives are clearly entitled to protection from some quarter. It cannot be expected from a Kentucky Legislature. It is only partially bestowed by such officers as are in command of our forces in that State. It must be granted therefore from Washington. The President will recognize his duty as springing from the proclamation, which he never meant to be either a delusion to the slave, or the sport of Kentucky jailers. Congress may equally perceive its obligation to assist in carrying out the object of the President, by legislative enactment. Somewhere there resides power enough to guarantee to the liberated blacks their freedom.

There is another pertinent consideration, suggested by the difficulty concerning the enlistment of colored troops in Kentucky. Gov. Bramlette has protested formally against that. He would probably consent that these fugitives should be offered an opportunity to enter the ranks, and a possible future collision on this question may be thus avoided. Certainly he could not object if they should be counted in the quota of Kentucky—now more than 17,000 short. The tone and temper of the present message are so reasonable and conciliatory that we believe there need be no difficulty in arranging the matter. But something ought to be done promptly. It is the duty both of the President and of Congress to see that these emancipated negroes are no longer kidnapped into, and sold out of, Kentucky jails for the benefit of rebel claimants.—*Tribune.*

BORDER STATE EMANCIPATION CONVENTION.

LOUISVILLE, Monday, Feb. 22, 1864.

THE Freedom Convention assembled at noon in the U. S. Court-room. About one hundred delegates were present from Kentucky, Missouri, Arkansas and Tennessee. The Convention was organized by the election of the Hon. Wm. P. Thomasson of Kentucky for President. Vice-Presidents: M. M. Buren, Tenn.; F. W. Wolf, Arkansas; J. S. Nixon, Ky.; Gen. John McNiel. Secretaries; J. S. Fowler, Tenn.; Jos. Tanssig, J. W. Campbell, Ky.; Major J. Barnes, Ark.

The Secretary read a communication inviting the Convention *en masse* to attend the laying of the corner-stone of the Union Soldiers' Monuments at Cape Hill Cemetery.

A Committee of three from each State represented was appointed to draft appropriate resolutions. From Arkansas, H. H. Wolf, S. J. Barnes, George C. Shumwack; Tennessee, Robert Farquaheusen, A. Weeks, J. F. Fowler; Kentucky, James Speed, George H. Blakely, D. F. Sanford, W. S. Call, Arnold Kinckel, John F. Hume.

The Convetion adjourned at 3 p.m., to meet again this evening at 7 p.m., to hear an address from Charles S. Drake. Subsequent to this, the Committee on Resolutions not having reported, the Convention adjourned to to-morrow at 10 o'clock.

Feb. 23.—The adjourned meeting of the Freedom Convention assembled this morning at 10 o'clock at Beck's Hall.

While waiting for the report of the Committee on Resolutions, the Convention was addressed by the Hon. Casper Butz of Chicago, who made a very radical speech, as the representative of the German Convention which met at Cleveland last Fall.

He said some of the Germans had gone over to the Copperheads. But they had 400,000 votes left, and would obtain universal freedom throughout the entire United States, and asked where could we find a better territory for furnishing to the slaves than that we were now conquering.

Mr. Anderson of Missouri said the spirit of J. J. Crittenden hung like a nightmare over Kentucky, and prevented her from expressing her true principles.

The Convention was also addressed by Messrs. Dunham, Baird, Preston, and Needham of Kentucky, Gen. McNeil of Massachusetts, Kirkle and Pretorious of Missouri.

In the afternoon session the following resolutions were presented by the Committee on Resolutions, excepting the seventh resolution, which was offered by Mr. Kirkle. They were acted upon singly, and afterwards passed unanimously:

Resolved, That the unity of this country, with the present form of Republican government, State and National, must be preserved, and the rebellion suppressed.

Resolved, That slavery was the cause of the war, and is the great obstacle to peace, which we cannot obtain until the principles of Freedom announced in the Declaration of Independence and the Federal Constitution are carried into practice. The question whether slavery is to be perpetuated or not is no longer exclusively a State but a National one. It is therefore proper that the Constitution of the United States should be amended so as to secure freedom to every human being within its jurisdiction. Such a guaranty of individual freedom is as necessary in the Constitution of the United States, as that of a republican form of government to each State.

Resolved, That the government has the constitutional right to command the services of every male, no matter what his color or condition, whether slave or free, and the master cannot interpose his right between the man and the government; and we are in favor of enlisting and enrolling all alike.

Resolved, That during a rebellion the President, in the exercise of the war power, has full and ample authority to free all the slaves in the rebellious districts, and they are hereby invested irrevocably with all the rights of freemen; and in the present rebellion he ought to exercise this power to the fullest extent.

Resolved, That with the effect of the President's Amnesty proclamation before us, we declare that, in our opinion, the same has been injurious to the Union cause, and its operations within the districts to which it especially applies are humiliating and unjust to loyal men, by placing them upon the same footing with rebels; and we would urge its recall or suppression until the rebellion is wholly crushed.

Resolved, That the Slave State Freedom Convention be a permanent organization by the formation of an Executive Committee of one member and one alternate from each of the Slave States for the purpose of carrying out its principles; and that the delegation of each state represented in this Convention appoint such members of the Committee.

Resolved, That we declare ourselves favorable to such an amendment of the Constitution of the United States as shall make the President eligible for one term only,

A resolution was offered, and lost after considerable discussion, providing for a National Radical Convention at St. Louis on the 10th of May. The vote on the resolution stood 53 in favor to 64 against, the majority preferring to act with the Republican party in their National Convention.

The proceedings of the Convention were generally harmonious. But toward the close of the afternoon session considerable confusion prevailed, principally upon minor points.

The Convention adjourned *sine die.*

THE RIGHT WAY TO ABOLISH AFRICAN SLAVERY.

From Bennett's Herald.

SENATORS SUMNER and Reverdy Johnson—representing the two extremes—together with the conservative Democrats and all the radicals and Gen. Fremont, now stand upon *The Herald's* platform in regard to the abolition of slavery. This is one of the greatest victories we have ever achieved. For the sake of making more converts, let us repeat that platform and the reasons why it should be adopted. And these reasons are equally weighty in support of Senator Trumbull's resolution.

The only way to abolish slavery legally, and the best way to abolish it effectually, is by an amendment to the Constitution. Some Abolitionists, like Gerrit Smith, have contended that the Constitution does not recognize slavery, and that, consequently, slavery is itself unconstitutional. This is an absurd position; for, although the words "slavery" and "slaveholder" are not mentioned in the Constitution, yet that instrument does virtually recognize slavery, and protect the slaveholders in the enjoyment of their property. Another class of Abolitionists, led by Wendell Phillips, have endeavored to abolish slavery by abolishing the Constitution, which they have called "a covenant with death and a bond with hell." This position is equally absurd; for if we abolish the Constitution we abolish the government authorized by that Constitution, and the result is anarchy, and perhaps a despotism. We repeat, therefore, that the right way to abolish slavery is neither to take the Constitution precisely as it is nor to abolish the present Constitution altogether, but to amend it in the manner which the Constitution itself provides.

The proclamations of the Presidential joker have not abolished slavery. They have practically accomplished absolutely nothing. In the first place, they are unconstitutional, and will be so pronounced whenever the Supreme Court comes to decide upon them. In the second place, they are ineffective, since they do not free the slaves within our lines, many of whom have been freed already by the fortunes of war, and they do not affect the slaves within the rebel lines, to whom emancipation can only come at the point of the bayonet. In the third place, these proclamations, being issued under the plea of military necessity, become null and void as soon as the war ends and the military necessity is over. Neither is that other plan of the President to abolish slavery in 1900 by compensated emancipation of any avail; for the border States have not accepted it, and the cotton States will certainly refuse it if it be offered to them on their return to the Union. Neither does the President's scheme to readmit the seceded States as free States abolish slavery, since the States thus readmitted can reënact their slave laws as soon as their full population is allowed to vote at an election—in other words, as soon as they are received back into the Union. We see, then, that neither the theoretical Abolitionists, like Garrison and Phillips, nor the political Abolitionists, like Lincoln, understand how to abolish slavery. The theorists have zeal without knowledge and discretion. Mr. Lincoln merely uses abolitionism as a tool, and is not at all in earnest in his abolition schemes, as he clearly showed when he pronounced one of them "a Pope's bull against the comet." The only practical way to abolish slavery, therefore, is to amend the Constitution by a two-thirds vote of each House of Congress, ratified by the Legislatures of twenty-seven States.

We have taken it for granted, in arriving at the above conclusion, that the time for the formal abolition of slavery has come. This, we think, is undeniable. The "peculiar institution" has served its turn, and must now be superseded by something better. It is no longer a safe system of labor; it is no longer a profitable system of labor; it is no longer an acceptable system of labor. Our Yankee soldiers now carry in their brains and their knapsacks the plans of machines which will develop the South without the comparatively feeble aid of the African machine. In its day and generation slavery did a good work for the country and for civilization; but it has outlived its usefulness. During what may now be called the latter period of its existence it exhibited signs of degeneracy, and indulged in abominations which gave evidence that it was near its end. Even without this rebellion slavery could not have survived for many more years. It was losing its political power. Its material power was on the wane, since corn, and not cotton, was really king. This rebellion, inaugurated by ambitious and disappointed politicians, under the plea of protecting slavery, has given the institution its death-blow. Not one man out of a thousand is now a pro-slavery man. The immense majority at the North—to say nothing, at present, of the South—is anti-slavery. When the war is over the South will be thrown open to the emigrants from Europe, who will be attracted by the fine climate, and will thoroughly develop the Southern resources. Here, not in Mexico, is the home for what Napoleon terms the Latin race. Let the Democratic party place themselves upon the platform of the abolition of slavery by a constitutional amendment, with Grant or some such hero as their candidate, and he will be almost unanimously elected. But if they blindly follow their present leaders, and attempt to oppose public opinion, instead of going with it, they will be dashed to pieces like the insane bull which attempted to stop a locomotive under full speed by running against it.

MISREPRESENTATIONS OF OUR VIEWS.

AT the recent annual meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society in this city, a resolution was presented by our friend Wendell Phillips, in relation to the animus of the government in its dealings with rebeldom, to which we offered an amendment, and expressed our dissent from some of the views taken by Mr. Phillips. The telegraphic account of the discussion, sent in every direction, was anything but a fair statement of it. We were made to say that we had greatly diminished our faith in Fremont, because he had not publicly favored the proclamation of amnesty! We said the proclamation of emancipation of January 1, 1863, which we heartily approve, and not that of the amnesty, to which we are as decidedly opposed.

The exact language we used in regard to Gen. Fremont was, that our "*interest* in him had been lessened," because he had given no expression of satisfaction at the two great measures of the government for the suppression of the rebellion, namely, the enlistment of the blacks, and the liberation of all the slaves in the revolted States. Not that we suppose he is hostile to either of those measures; but we are sure that his public approval of them by his pen or voice would have been potent to their more vigorous prosecution; and the government has needed every approving word in that direction, especially from those who possess a commanding influence.

Mr. Phillips has less faith in the good intentions of President Lincoln than we have, and believes he is "ready to sacrifice the honor and interest of the North to effect a sham peace." We honor him for the manly avowal of his conviction; and none the less so because it places him in the minority, and subjects him to severe popular criticism. The honesty of his conviction is not to be impeached, while its soundness may be questioned without any personal feeling. We are not willing to accept of any compliment at his expense. In matters of opinion and comparison of views, we sometimes differ from him; but in an uncompromising adherence to principle, we have always seen eye to eye. He must be true to himself—and he will be, at whatever cost. Those who repose more confidence in President Lincoln than he does, find no justification for abusing him. The services he has rendered the cause of freedom, and indeed whatever is worthy of preservation in our country, for more than a quarter of a century, at great pecuniary cost through his munificent disposition and self-sacrificing spirit, and to the utter abandonment of all hope of political advancement, should ever shield him from bitter and disparaging criticism. However jealous he may be of the government, it is not for a factious purpose, but solely to avert what he regards as impending danger to the cause of impartial liberty.—*W. L. Garrison, in The Liberator.*

NO GRADUAL EMANCIPATION.

From The N. Y. Times, Feb. 25.

A MASS Convention was held yesterday in Memphis, inaugurating a general movement in Tennessee for the reorganization of the civil government in the State. One of the features of the call, we observe, is that "emancipation, *immediate* and *unconditional*, is our best and only true policy." The Unionism of the State has settled firmly on that principle.

It is extraordinary how completely the idea of *gradual* emancipation has been dissipated from the public mind everywhere, by the progress of events. Before the rebellion, it was accounted the very extreme of anti-slavery fanaticism to believe in the possibility of immediate emancipation without social ruin. The wisest anti-slavery men of the day, whether in this country or in Europe, assumed it almost as an axiom that there could be no transition from slavery to freedom without an apprenticeship, or some other arrangment that should deaden the shock. All of the acts of emancipation by England and the continental nations, and by our own Northern States, whenever they applied to more than a mere handful of slaves, were invariably based on that assumption. It took our own State not less than twenty-eight years to consummate the gradual extinction of the system after the Emancipation law was passed. Long after the rebellion opened, even when it had become a generally accepted fact that slavery must come to an end, the idea still adhered that the emancipation must be gradual in order to be safe. President Lincoln, in his recommendation to Congress of appropriations to induce the Border States to initiate a system of emancipation, was particular to make it apply only to *gradual* emancipation. Even so late as last June, the Missouri Convention passed its Emancipation Ordinance so framed that no slave should go free before 1870, and the younger ones not until long afterwards.

But all these gradual methods are now hardly more thought of than if they had been obsolete a century. The people of Missouri, through their Legislature, have convened another Convention to make a complete end of slavery without delay. In Maryland immediate emancipation is the order of the day. The Convention to frame the Free State Constitution, which is to be elected on the first Wednesday of April, and to meet on the last Wednesday of the same month, will not think of adopting any other plan. In Louisiana, in Arkansas, in Florida, and in fact wherever the purpose of emancipation is entertained at all, there seems to be an almost unanimous agreement that immediate emancipation is the wisest and in fact the only practicable method.

The change of opinion on this subject is a remarkable illustration of the practical aptitude of the American mind. With hardly an effort, theories and prejudices, that had apparently rooted themselves in it so deeply as to become a part of it, are discarded, and new ideas, in keeping with a new condition of affairs, are conceived, and conformed to, almost by universal consent. It is recognized that whatever may be the advantage theoretically of gradual over immediate emancipation, the actual situation permits no option between the two. Gradual emancipation is, in truth, no longer a debatable matter, for there is nothing really left to graduate. Slavery now exists only in name. Its substance has been destroyed by the terrible attrition of the war. As was said by Hon. Thomas Swann, of Maryland, the other day, in convention; "The relation of master and slave is totally changed. The slave has become the master—that is to say, he dictates his own terms of labor, or he goes where he can enjoy his unrestrained freedom without interference." This is the case in all of the old slaveholding States now within our army lines; and each rebel State will come into just that condition just as soon as it is occupied by our armies. When the military arm once has play, there is no such thing as a gradual severance of the bond between the master and slave. The rupture is instantaneous, and complete, and permanent. To undertake to renew the relation between master and slave for the sake of destroying it more scientifically would be only to prolong social confusion, and work unmixed evil to both races.

This universal disposition of the slaveholding States—those which never joined the rebellion, and those which have been reclaimed from the rebellion—to adopt emancipation voluntarily, as their only true policy, and to make immediate and sweeping work of it, serves to show how little practical effect, after all, will attach to anything Congress does, or leaves undone, on this subject. Were the proposed amendment of the Constitution, prohibiting slavery everywhere within the limits of the United States, to be referred by Congress to-morrow to the various States for their adoption, it could scarcely be consented to by three-fourths of the several States, as the Constitution requires, before the very name and semblance of slavery would have disappeared, so that the amendment would have no more practical application than if it related to the Hindoo castes or to the feudal system of the Middle Ages. It would take at least a year or eighteen months for all the twenty-seven States—the requisite number—to act through their Legislatures, many of which Legislatures only meet biennially. Before that time every reorganized rebel State will be living under a Free State Constitution of its own adoption, as independent of the operations of any such amendment as Massachusetts or Michigan. If there be rebel States at that time still without a loyal Free State organization, it will be only because they are still unconquered, and no Constitutional amendment can facilitate conquest. That is military work exclusively; but work the very finishing of which finishes slavery also.

MR. MASON JONES ON THE AMERICAN WAR.

ON Saturday evening, Mr. Mason Jones, who has recently returned from a tour in the United States, delivered an oration in the Free-Trade Hall, Manchester, on "America, the Civil War and its Cause—Slavery." The large hall was well filled by a mixed audience, the Northern element predominating. Mr. Jones spoke with more than his customary eloquence, and endeavored to do justice to both sides, balancing his denunciation of Southern perfidy with admiration of their valor, and the administrative ability of their leaders. About a year and a half ago, said the lecturer, he went to the United States, and was fortunate enough to make the acquaintance of nearly all the leading men, from President Lincoln downwards. Of all the men with whom he ever came into contact President Lincoln was the most honest. The government and people of the North were engaged in fighting the battle of the ages—the battle of free labor against slave labor—the battle of civilization against barbarism—the battle of the many against the few—the battle of the poor against the rich—the battle of learning against ignorance—the battle of light against darkness—the battle of heaven against hell. He should not have referred to the causes of the war had it not been for the hole-and-corner Southern soirée held in Manchester the previous evening, at which the prophet Spence, the ablest advocate the South had succeeded in enlisting, told such astounding stories as were only matched by those of Baron Munchausen. Mr. Spence actually had the temerity to tell his audience that every one knew that the North commenced the war in a sudden gust of passion. That was a "staggerer." Pray was it the North that pulled down the flag at Fort Sumter? Mr. Spence also said that the tariff caused the war. That lie about the Morrill tariff was coined to serve the English market, to excite the antagonism of the commercial classes of this country against the protectionists of the United States, and the lie having served its purpose by alienating tens of thousands of Englishmen from the cause of the North, it was time to consign it to that infernal limbo to which all lies must go sooner or later. Then Mr. Spence said that the people of England were in favor of the South, and that 30,000 people at Ashton had memorialised the government to interfere and close the war. Then why did not the friends of the South hold a public meeting in Manchester? The Southerners had taken the Free-Trade Hall in the outset with that intention, and they were obliged to pay the rent of the room though they did not use it. They knew that their resolutions would be out-voted, and that amendments would pass against them. He challenged Mr. Spence to a full discussion of the whole American question, and was willing to devote the proceeds to some charity. The cause of the war was not geographical position, difference of race, State rights, or tariffs, but wholely and solely slavery. For all the misery that had been caused, and all

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, MARCH 5, 1864.

JUSTICE FOR THE NEGRO!

THE method by which men have struggled forward from a worse condition, moral, physical and political, to a better, so far as they have proceeded in that direction, seems to have been upon this wise: They have attempted first to see with how great a disregard of the laws of the body, the soul and civil society they could exist at all. Then, when they have found by experience that the penalties of the laws they have been habitually violating were greater than they could bear, they next set about seeing with how small a *modicum* of amendment they could make their condition tolerable. And whenever men of somewhat clearer mental eyesight have appeared, exhorting them to forsake all their disobediences at once, and conform themselves altogether to the laws of their individual and social being, they have exclaimed against them as fanatics and disturbers of the peace, and not unseldom cast them out, and sometimes put them to death. It is none of the business of this journal to express an opinion as to controverted theological doctrines; but we must say that whether that of Total Depravity be sustained by Scripture or not, it is in no wise surprising that it should have been suggested by the conduct of mankind, of nations as well as individuals, in the management of their dearest concerns. All the evils that ever have afflicted the world, and all that now infest it, spring from this attempt to procure bodily pleasure without obedience to the conditions of the body, to enjoy mental peace and enlightenment without observing the laws of the mind, and to possess the highest social comfort and civil privileges for ourselves while indifferent to those of others, if not hostile to them. All the vice, all the ignorance, all the tyranny in the world, or that has ever been in it, have arisen from the endeavor to extort happiness from nature in defiance of the laws through obedience to which only it is possible. And the efforts men have made from time to time to bring their individual and social life more into conformity with the laws of their being are what are called Reformations or Revolutions, according to their extent and success.

It is not necessary to ascend to former ages nor to cross the ocean to foreign countries for illustrations of this truth. Our own country and our own time afford them in abundance. For about three quarters of a century the American people endeavored to secure the blessings of liberty to themselves and their posterity, while they were systematically and by organic law utterly denying these blessings to one-sixth of the inhabitants and their posterity. And through this violation of social laws they thought that they could form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence and promote the general welfare. The whole history of the country has been a succession of proofs of the entire failure of the experiment. The Union grew less and less perfect, as it went on, justice was denied and mocked, domestic tranquillity was more and more disturbed, the common defence neglected for that of this cleaving mischief, and the general welfare was only impaired and obstructed, by the attempt. And at last this Civil War, growing out of the rebellion which the national violation of moral and social laws made inevitable, is putting the power and stability of our institutions to the extremest test. These consequences of the incorporation of a flagrant violation of moral laws with the machinery of our political institutions were foreseen, more or less clearly, from a very early day in our history, to be inevitable, unless eliminated from them. And of later years the same truth has been uttered in the unwilling ears of the people, constantly and earnestly, so as to gradually impress itself imperfectly on the general mind. But all the time the voices which urged the duty of repentance were regarded as disturbances of the peace of the nation, and what they demanded as wild and chimerical delusions. Their teachings were distorted into meanings the farthest possible from their plain and natural import. Their objects were perverted from the peace, tranquillity, prosperity and settled liberties of the people into fanatical attempts to overthrow the existing state of society in half the country by insurrection, murder and fire-raising. It will hardly be denied, now that the theme is lighted up by the red glare of battle, that the negro has been the fatal innocent cause of all our present distresses; that he has slain his thousands and tens of thousands, and laid waste many a fertile region; but it was not in a struggle invoked by him for his liberty, but by his oppressors to make his bondage sure.

Nor will it be denied that if our fathers had fairly grappled with this mischief in the beginning, and provided for its extermination as a preliminary to the formation of their government, though they might have delayed it for awhile, they would have made it strong, united and prosperous as it has never been. And so if at any later period measures had been taken to destroy the control of this malign influence over our destinies, the evils which it has worked, and still works, would have been avoided, or greatly diminished. But the same desire to reduce obedience of the divine laws to the *minimum* point consistent with existence prevented any effectual attempt to do this great and necessary work. And even since the slaveholders have plunged us into this war, the greatest of modern times, putting almost every household into mourning and impoverishing us all by a load of debt and a burden of taxation unknown before, we still dally with justice, and try to see with how little Divine Providence will be content as the ransom of our National existence. The cause of the rebellion has never been touched whenever it could be avoided without a virtual surrender at discretion. The negro, of whose centuries of wrongs this war is but the necessary consequence and the mild punishment, though he was seen to be the occasion of the insurrection, was for long treated of as if he had nothing to do with it. The government, and the nation at large—including a large portion of the Republican party—pretended to refuse to see how his fate was wrapped up in ours, and were willing to leave him to his fate, if thereby his master could be bribed back to his old place astride of our necks. To our disasters and the consequent strengthening of the hands of the rebels do we owe the gradual advances we have made in the direction of justice and common sense. The confiscation of slaves actually in our possession by their act, or our own, their employment as free laborers, afterwards as soldiers, and the final proclamation of the liberty of all such as were within the rebellious territory, were successively extorted from us as necessities of our own success and existence. And these just and righteous acts have been but too often crippled and robbed of their fair construction and operation by the vicious prejudices or pro-slavery malignity of the officers charged with carrying them out.

And not only these officers, but the War Department, is guilty of the same foolish meanness of denying simple justice to the negro it has called to the help of the Nation, for no better reason than that it has always been denied him. And, which is worse, Congress itself is in danger of disgracing itself and its constituents by refusing to right this shabby iniquity. This last attempt to cheat Providence by refusing to treat black men who risk not only their lives and limbs, but their liberty, by enlisting in our service, on equal terms of pay and bounty with their white fellow-soldiers, is the most paltry and dirtiest shape that the demon of compromise has yet taken upon himself. There is something sublime in the villany which binds four million men to the altar of our selfishness and offers them up as a sacrifice to our interests. But to refuse to pay the few thousands we have coaxed or compelled to fight for us the price of their blood, is base and abject to a degree that well merits the contempt of the rebels themselves. And, even more, the proposition to withhold from the brave men who first offered themselves to us the consideration our necessities may compel us to offer to those yet to be gained to our arms, is a lower depth in the lowest deep of national meanness, from which we trust Congress will yet save us. We trust that the remonstrances of constituencies will make themselves loud in the ears of sluggish Congressmen, and rescue the Nation from the disgrace of treating the heroes of Fort Wagner as day-laborers employed by the Quartermaster instead of soldiers summoned by the Nation to its help. Has not the time past been sufficient for seeing whether or not we can outwit God and get the benefits of obedience to His laws while we reject or evade them? Injustice to the Negro has been the cause of all our past and present public ills. Justice to the Negro is the one thing essential to our escape from them now and our exemption hereafter. Let us leave Congress and Congressmen no rest until they give him this Justice so long withheld, not in grudging driblets, but full measure, pressed down and running over, poured into his bosom. Until this be done, we shall have reason to fear lest a more damning compromise may not crush him and ourselves togetner in its slimy folds for many a year, if not forever. Without full and entire Justice to the Negro, we can never place our National Union and prosperity on a certain and permanent basis. With it, the permanency of the Union is certain, and our prosperity will flow as the sea.

THE WELCOME TO GEORGE THOMPSON.

THE meeting held at the Cooper Institute on Monday evening last, to welcome GEORGE THOMPSON, Esq., the eloquent champion of Universal Liberty and the staunch defender of the American cause in England, though inadequately advertised, was attended by a numerous and highly intelligent assembly, whose interest and enthusiasm was all that could have been anticipated or desired. The proceedings are reported in our columns at length, and will speak for themselves. The tribute of Maj.-Gen. Fremont to the Abolitionists, who have so long borne the burden and the heat of the conflict with the Slave Power, was as honorable to him as it was just to them; while the applause which it elicited afforded a striking illustration of the great change lately wrought in the minds of the people.

Of Mr. Thompson's speech it is enough to say that it more than met the highest anticipations of his friends. The whole assembly was charmed by his eloquence, and kindled to the highest pitch of enthusiasm by his earnest appeals for justice to the negro, and his denunciations of slavery and rebellion.

From The Independent.

A man who has laid his hands upon two nations, helping to break chains in each, deserves the reward of generous praise. So on Monday night at Cooper Institute, we all clapped our hands into a heat, at the public reception of George Thompson. We have heard of "English cheers" and a "Scotch welcome," but, after all, what is heartier than an American greeting?

The enthusiastic multitude on that occasion did equal honor to their guest and to themselves; for they gave him cause to forgive their old injuries done to a stranger; and showed how fitting it was that the city which once cast him out with cursings, should welcome him back with acclamations. "Whom we injure, we hate," says the proverb; and having injured this man too greatly, we hated him too long. Coming to us as a prophet, we stoned him as a prophet; but, at last, the very stones once cast at him are now made into his monument. It is thus that foolish multitudes, from the beginning of Christianity, have always cheated themselves out of their victims—villifying good men into better fame, and prosecuting them into final coronation.

At the meeting on Monday night, one of the audience, and one who cheered loudly was a New York politician, who, years ago, was a hound of the pack that howled Mr. Thompson out of the city. Is there not hope for the world when a man who begins as a dog, and passes into a politician, may yet come out right at last?

When the times change, how quickly men change with them! And how sincerely the men of the new opinions think they have never held any other! Out of our window, this frosty morning, is a weather-cock pointing due North—looking, like many others at the Monday night meeting, as having always pointed that way. Of course, the altered and improved sentiment of the country is a cause for joy and thanksgiving; yet we could not help thinking, while sitting at that festival, that if the popular opinion had only changed at an earlier day—when it was appealed to solely on the ground of moral principle, instead of by the exigency of war—how many tears might have been saved, how many graves been kept unfilled, how many hearts remained unbroken! The eloquent man who many years ago came to speak to a free people concerning their Freedom—and whose single and constant speech was the same then as now—ought to have been heeded then, as he is applauded now. Had this been so, the orator, instead of having lately helped to save us from a war with England, would have earlier saved us from the War with Ourselves. George Thompson, advocating in England in 1864 the cause of the Union, was not more our friend than while advocating in America in 1834 the cause of Freedom.

We scorn the littleness of speech which still comes from a few pens and tongues, decrying an Englishman, who opens his mouth in this country, as an intermeddler with our affairs. The cause of Liberty is as universal as Human Nature; and no man who serves among her knight-errantry, come from whatever land or clime he will, is a foreigner or an alien. If Liberty in Italy may ask the sympathy of an American for Garibaldi in prison, so Liberty in America may ask the eloquence of an Englishman for the Negro in chains. John Bright is an Englishman; but if he were to come to this country, would we not give him a hearing? But John Bright has publicly said that British Emancipation owes to George Thompson more than to any other man. American Emancipation owes him something as well. He is part of the salt that gives savor to the proclamation of Abraham Lincoln. To George Thompson, therefore, who comes for the third time to our shores, expecting now to spend the remainder of his days here, we give a hearty welcome—not as an Englishman, nor as to be an American, but as a brave and true man who, proudly claiming both countries, is proudly claimed of both.

It affords us great satisfaction to announce that the people of Brooklyn will give Mr. Thompson a reception in Plymouth Church (Rev. H. W. Beecher's) on Thursday evening next. After that, we understand, he will go to Philadelphia and Washington.

IMPORTANT PETITION TO CONGRESS.

THE following is the Form of Petition adopted in compliance with the vote of the late Thirtieth Anniversary Meeting at Philadelphia; and which has been approved by leading anti-slavery men of various parties and denominations. The subject is one of vital moment, and the exigencies of the time point to this action as absolutely necessary to a speedy, honorable, and safe conclusion of the war. We ask our friends and readers, one and all, to interest themselves and those about them in the immediate and extensive circulation of this Petition. It is so brief that it may readily be copied at the head of a letter sheet; or a printed copy may be obtained by writing to either of the anti-slavery offices in Philadelphia (106 North Tenth St.), New York (48 Beekman St.), or Boston (221 Washington St.). Let the action be prompt and vigorous. Those who have already signed the Loyal Women's Petition need not hesitate to sign this also, as the two, though in harmony, are not identical. Friends! let the word be, Immediate! Not an hour is to be lost.

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, in Congress assembled:

The undersigned, citizens of believing Slavery the great cause of the present rebellion, and an institution fatal to the life of Republican government, earnestly pray your honorable bodies to immediately abolish it throughout the United States; and to adopt measures for so amending the Constitution as forever to prohibit its existence in any portion of our common country.

MEN. | WOMEN.

PAY OF COLORED SOLDIERS.—The bill to equalize the pay of colored soldiers still hangs fire in the Senate. After a deal of talk, it has been recommitted to the Military Committee—for what purpose or probable advantage, we are at a loss to conceive. The opposition of Mr. Fessenden and some other Republican Senators to paying colored soldiers the same bounties and wages paid to those of a white complexion is to us inexplicable except upon grounds utterly discreditable to them. The nation is disgraced by every hour's delay to do equal justice to the black men who are bravely fighting its battles.

MEETINGS IN RENSSELAER COUNTY.

PITTSTOWN, N. Y., Feb. 29, 1864.

To the Editor of the National Anti-Slavery Standard.

I HAVE just concluded a series of very good, interesting, well-attended meetings in this (Rensselaer) County. My theme has been General Emancipation, and the importance of a prohibitory Constitutional Amendment. I have been gratified and somewhat surprised at the readiness with which, of late, many hitherto "conservative" men have seconded the proposition to so amend the Constitution as forever to prohibit slavery throughout the Union. In this series of meetings I have introduced and recommended for the signatures of both men and women the petition now being circulated by the American Anti-Slavery Society, which embodies not only general Emancipation, but the proposition for an amendment of the Constitution, as a guaranty for the future. I have found less hesitation in the meetings to petition for a radical change of the Constitution, than for Emancipation only, as in the petition of the Women's Loyal League, which I had previously used. Perhaps it is because influential men, in and out of Congress, now more than a short time ago favor radical measures. The proposed radical change in the organic law of the nation, in favor of liberty, with a full recognition of the manhood of the negro, would be a fit culmination of the great revolution, and the only reliable and safe basis of reconstruction.

President-making begins considerably to occupy the minds of the people. *The Independent's* article upon that subject (which I see is being quite extensively reprinted) treated the matter very well. The importance of the principles which should be adopted as the basis of a reconstructed government cannot be over-estimated. Men are secondary. Whether in office, or candidates for election, they should be measured and accepted only as they are the exponents of the principles of a free and just government. Abolitionists who, as such, have never been partisans for men, but ever steadfast for the right, will have a no less important field of special usefulness in the pending Presidential conflict than in any preceding period. Their special charge is to promote correct principles in the sphere of public opinion. Such as may share more fully than hitherto in the practical direction of public affairs, by ballot and otherwise, will, of course, accept neither a platform nor men not unqualifiedly committed to the utter extinction and the constitutional prohibition of slavery.

For liberal hospitality and efficient coöperation in connection with the meetings in this County, I am much indebted to ALLEN E. WILBUR, E. WILBUR and family, of this town, who are among THE STANDARD'S most interested readers AARON M. POWELL.

FREEDMAN'S BUREAU.—The bill to establish a Bureau of Freedmen's Affairs in the War Department passed in the House on Tuesday, and, we presume, will ere long pass in the Senate also. The bill provides that the Bureau shall be placed in charge of a Commissioner at an annual salary of $4,000, to whom is to be referred the adjustment and determination of all questions arising under any laws now existing or hereafter to be enacted, concerning persons of African descent, and persons who are, or shall become, free, by virtue of any proclamation, law, or military order, issued, enacted, or promulgated during the present rebellion, or by virtue of any act of emancipation which shall be enacted by any State for the freedom of such persons held to service or labor within such State, or who shall be otherwise entitled to their freedom.

The Commission is also charged with the execution of all laws providing for the colonization of freedmen, and with the delivery of any bonds of the United States, or any indemnity to which any State which shall become entitled by reason of the emancipation of slaves within such State, and of any act of Congress authorizing the issue of such bonds or payment of such indemnity.

The bill, among other things, provides for the appointment of Assistant Commissioners and other officers, who are to permit persons of African descent, and persons who are or shall become free, to occupy, cultivate, and improve all lands lying within the districts now or heretofore in rebellion, which lands may have been, or may hereafter be, abandoned by their former owners; and all real estate to which the United States shall have acquired title, and to advise and aid them when needful; to organize and direct their labor, adjust with them their wages, and receive all returns arising therefrom, which shall be duly accounted for to the Commissioners, and all balances, if any there be, after defraying the charges and expenses of the Bureau, are to be annually paid into the Treasury of the United States.

THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW.—On Monday, in the Senate, Mr. Sumner of Massachusetts, from the Select Committee on Slavery and Freedmen, presented a report, accompanied by the following bill, which was read and passed to a second reading:

A BILL To repeal all acts for the Rendition of Fugitives from service or labor.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That all acts of Congress or parts of acts providing for the rendition of fugitives from service or labor be, and the same are hereby, repealed.

Ten thousand copies of the report and bill were ordered to be printed.

On Tuesday, Mr. Buckalew of Pennsylvania, on behalf of himself and of Mr. Carlile of Va., presented a minority report in opposition to the repeal of the infamous law. Such is party democracy! It was ordered to be printed, and a motion of Mr. Powell of Ky. to print 10,000 extra copies was referred to the Committee on Printing.

We trust Mr. Sumner's bill will speedily pass both Houses. It is a disgrace to the supporters of the Administration in Congress that such a bill was not passed long ago.

We have not seen Mr. Sumner's report, but we have no doubt that it is worthy of him, which is saying quite enough. We shall probably print it hereafter.

WOMAN'S LEAGUE.—Our readers cannot over-estimate the importance of petitions to Congress, to rid the land of slavery forever. The work of petitioning is now mainly in the hands of the Woman's Loyal League; and new vigor is to be infused into it. All petitions are now to be returned to the office of that Association, 20 Cooper Institute, with a view to so arranging and combining them, as to roll into Congress a tide of the swelling humanity of the country, the meaning of which cannot be mistaken by the dullest ear or coldest heart in that body.

EQUALITY BEFORE THE LAW.—In the Senate on Monday Mr. Sumner, from the Select Committee on Slavery and Freedmen, reported, without amendment, the bill introduced by him some days before, as follows:

A BILL, To secure Equality before the Law in the Courts of the United States.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That in the courts of the United States there shall be no exclusion of any witness on account of color.

The bill was ordered to be printed, and we trust it will shortly become a law.

DR. CHEEVER delivered a powerful discourse in the Church of the Puritans last Sunday evening, in which he spoke with just and accustomed severity of the wrongs inflicted by the whites on the negro race in general, and of the special wrongs and outrages committed against the colored soldiers, of the nature of the recent legislation for "robbing them," and the consequences of such legislation. We wish some of the Senators who are so unwilling to do justice to the colored soldiers could have heard him.

WILLIAM A. JACKSON, ex-coachman of Jeff. Davis, has been lecturing of late in Maine. He has spoken in Portland, Casco, Windham Centre, East Raymond, Naples, Bridgeton Centre, North Windham, Great Falls, Gorham, Bath, Lewiston, Richmond, Gardiner, and Brunswick. He will speak in Quincy, Mass., on Monday evening next, at Biddeford, Me., on the 9th, at Lewiston on the 10th, at Augusta on the 11th, and at Bangor some time in the following week.

THEODORE D. WELD spoke at the Cooper Institute on Wednesday evening, the 24th ult., to a large audience, embracing not a few of his friends and associates of former years. Though obliged, on account of a bronchial affection, to read his lecture, instead of speaking extemporaneously as in former times, he gave abundant proof that his great powers of mind and heart are as vigorous as ever.

Our Washington Correspondence.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 28, 1864.

THE Spring is upon us, and everybody is talking about the early campaign. Fighting will soon be in order, not only in the South-west, but here in Virginia. Gen. Meade has had time enough to prepare for a successful campaign, and will probably have more before he gets ready to move. When he was here in Washington he was constantly with Mr. Lincoln and Gen. Halleck, and the fact that he has been sent back with authority to reorganize his Army and to carry out plans of his own for the Spring and Summer, shows that the President has confidence in him. Gen. Meade is a timid man, and yet is a good soldier. It is not to be wondered at that the President is tired of dismissing generals from the command of the Army of the Potomac. If he were to dismiss Meade, the new man, whichever it were, Hancock, Sedgwick, or Pleasanton, would turn out to be a failure. He may as well, therefore, stick to Meade, who is a faithful, loyal man, and at least a safe general. It may be that nothing important will occur during the next three months upon the Rapidan, but I shall be disappointed should such be the case. The hope of the rebel leaders is, that Meade will commit blunders that will greatly reduce the Army of the Potomac in numbers and in spirit, so that, in June or later in the season, Lee will feel able to invade Pennsylvania for the third time. It is seriously proposed by some persons I have met in Washington, that the Army of the Potomac shall act purely on the defensive, risking no battles, but trusting to the generalship of Grant in the South-west to cripple the rebellion. If Meade can employ Lee and 60,000 of the enemy's best troops, even if no battle is fought, it would be doing something towards bringing the war to an end. If Lee should presume upon the offensive because of the inaction of our troops, so much the better, as the Army of the Potomac has won all its victories when the enemy has made the attack. Lee is not over 30,000 strong at the present time, but expects to number at least 50,000, and perhaps 60,000, by the first of May, so our scouts report. Meade certainly will not have less than 100,000 by the first of May.

In a former letter I made an allusion to the course of the railways of this city towards colored people, and instanced Dr. Augusta's case. The Senate took up the matter in earnest, or rather the Senate Committee of the District of Columbia did, and made a report to the Senate upon the subject. The debate which followed was exceedingly interesting. Mr. Grimes, the Chairman of the Committee, made the subjoined statement:

"I think it is unnecessary to reconsider that vote in order to bring the matter again before the Committee on the District of Columbia and before the Senate, for this reason: when it was referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia the subject was taken under consideration in a very full meeting of the Committee, and the charter of the company whose servants are said to have perpetrated the outrage upon the colored surgeon in the United States Army was thoroughly examined, and the conclusion reached—I believe I am correct in saying unanimously—by the Committee that there is nothing in the charter that authorizes the company to make any distinction between persons of any lineage or color.

"My friend, the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. Willey], yesterday submitted a report embodying the opinion of the Committee, and I think I may say the unanimous opinion of the Committee—at any rate unanimous so far as I know—to that effect, that there is nothing in the charter which authorizes any restraint or any restriction upon any person riding in the cars.

"I will say a word further which I ought to say. There was some discussion here the other day in regard to the turning out of the cars of Dr. Augusta. I learn from an investigation I have made that that occurrence took place on the Fourteenth street road, where there were no cars for colored persons run. Since that time, or since the attention of the Senate was called to it by the introduction of a resolution by the Senator from Massachusetts, cars for the use of colored persons have been put upon both the Seventh street and the Fourteenth street roads; and the President of the company tells me that he has put an additional number upon the Pennsylvania avenue road.

"I do not think under the circumstances that it is worth while to reconsider the vote and return the consideration of this subject to the Committee on the District of Columbia; because that Committee hold that every person has a right to ride in the cars, and that a colored person has the same remedies open to him for any infringement of his rights by the company as anybody else."

The fact that the best lawyers in the U. S. Senate are of the opinion that a railway company *must have special authority in their charter* to debar colored people from their cars, or the persons ejected can receive damages, is of importance outside of this District. Reverdy Johnson, the Senator from Maryland, who stands very high as a lawyer throughout the country, said:

"I have no doubt the Chairman of the Committee is right in saying that there is in the charter no authority to discriminate between any description of persons, the black or the white; and whatever would be the case in reference to such a charter in the States where slavery exists, where to a certain extent the negro is not upon the same footing with the freeman, it certainly cannot apply to the District of Columbia, where by your legislation already passed you have placed them in all respects upon the same footing. You have emancipated all those who were slaves before, and slavery cannot exist in this District at any time in the future, at any rate without the consent of Congress. That being the case, if there is not in the charter an express authority to discriminate, if the company undertake to discriminate except for some good cause (and you can imagine a good cause why a particular man should not be permitted to enter the cars), they would clearly be responsible."

After these explanations and declarations, Mr. Sumner rose and expressed himself satisfied, and stated that he should not urge the subject further upon the attention of the Senate. He also said:

"Let me say I was particularly grateful to the Senator from Maryland for his very explicit statement of the law on the subject. I do not doubt he is entirely right. It has always been my opinion. I am glad to have it confirmed by that distinguished Senator and lawyer. I am also grateful to the Senator from West Virginia who made the report, and who has so explicitly stated his own conviction, and, as I understand him, also the unanimous opinion of the Committee, to the effect that these people have legal rights precisely as white persons to the full enjoyment of all the privileges of the railway in this District. If they have such legal rights, they are at this moment unquestionably exposed to what I must call outrage. If a white person were ejected from the cars who otherwise was perfectly respectable, we should all feel that it was an outrage. Is it any less an outrage because the person ejected is simply guilty of a skin not colored like our own? For myself I confess that to my mind it is a greater outrage, because our obligations are greater in proportion to the humility and weakness of those with whom we deal."

The company has put on more cars "For Colored People," but I presume has no idea of permitting colored persons to enter any but those set apart especially for their use.

The subject of "miscegenation" has been discussed in Congress since my last letter. Cox of Ohio charged upon the Republicans the desire to amalgamate the black and white races, and Kelley of Philadelphia replied by showing what success the Democrats and their Southern allies have already had in amalgamating the races. The little book upon "miscegenation" has very generally been regarded here as a burlesque, or satire. It is said that Mr. Sumner, upon first glancing over its pages, was inclined to think the writer was in jest. I have heard this rumor—perhaps it is not a fact. I think Mr. Tilton's article in the last *Independent* expresses the views of most of the intelligent Republicans in Congress upon the subject. Nobody here *advocates* amalgamation, though doubtless there are very many who believe that in time the two races *will* amalgamate. So far the Democrats have gained nothing by the debate on this subject.

Gen. Frank Blair attacked Mr. Chase with violence yesterday in the House. He has been very anxious for a quarrel with some Chase man in the House for weeks. His speech was a good deal worse than anyone expected. One of his friends describes it as "*ferocious*," and I think the public will agree that it is the proper word to characterize it. Now this is very foolish. We are about entering a campaign which is of the utmost importance. It may be very hard work to conquer the enemy. If there is one honest man in the country, Mr. Chase is honest. I very much doubt if any portion of the American people will consent to hear a lecture upon Mr. Chase's *moral* character by any member of the Blair family. It is a good deal as if Fernando Wood were to impeach the loyalty of Abraham Lincoln. This quarrel is growing in its dimensions. The Blairs hate Mr. Chase, and mean to drive him from the Cabinet—if not now, hereafter, when the election is over. The friends of Mr. Chase, on the other hand, are determined that Montgomery Blair shall not remain in his present position. They will never succeed in getting him out, for Mr. Lincoln is very much attached to him, and as I have stated before in this correspondence, Mr. Blair has more influence over the President than any other member of the Cabinet, unless Mr. Seward be excepted.

The Democrats do not give up the idea of putting Gen. Grant in nomination for the Presidency. In a conversation with a prominent Democratic member of Congress yesterday, he gave his opinion very decidedly that Grant and not McClellan would be the nominee of the National Democratic Convention. I asked him what he would do in case Gen. Grant should refuse to accept their nomination. He replied, "Did you ever hear of a man who refused the nomination of a great party for the Presidency?"

But the President will very soon make Grant a Lieutenant-General. It is a life-office, worth $10,000 a year, and Gen. Grant's friends say that if it is offered to him he will accept of no nomination for the Presidency at the hands of the Opposition. AVON.

RECEPTION OF GEORGE THOMPSON IN NEW YORK.

Maj.-Gen. Fremont in the Chair.

The Pathfinder Welcomes the Philanthropist.

Eloquent Speech of Mr. Thompson.

ON Monday evening last, under the auspices of the Young Men's Republican Union, a large assembly convened in the Cooper Institute, to welcome to the city of New York and to the country that eloquent champion of Liberty, GEORGE THOMPSON, Esq., the associate of Bright, Cobden, Cairnes, and a host of others, by whose generous and well-directed efforts the intelligent masses of the people of Great Britain have been aroused to a true appreciation of our great struggle with Slavery and Rebellion.

At 8 o'clock Mr. Thompson came to the platform, accompanied by Major-General JOHN C. FREMONT, who had been selected to fill the chair. They were received with great enthusiasm by the large assembly, the ladies waving their handkerchiefs and the gentlemen cheering vociferously.

Speech of Major-General Fremont.

Upon taking the chair, Gen. Fremont addressed the meeting as follows:

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: I am glad to see that you are in a temper of mind which promises a very cordial welcome to our guest of the evening. I thank you very sincerely for your friendly reception of myself, and thank you warmly for him—under the circumstances, it will be especially grateful to him. Coming here after an interval of years, he cannot be expected immediately to realize the change which has been worked in the country, and impressions from very different scenes which he witnessed here cannot yet be effaced from his memory. When he was last here, the country was at peace, and men do not readily hazard its blessings. The people were unwilling to enter upon the discussion of a question which threatened to disturb great interests. They were not willing to inflict upon themselves or the Southern people the penalties which attend a great reform. Then discussions upon slavery were held to involve disunion, and it required the direct and flagrant aggressions of an institution essentially at war with the principles of our government to bring men to consider it, and to rouse them into action against it. He has yet to realize the change, and until he does, every such expression of friendly feeling must give him peculiar satisfaction. It may not seem to you entirely appropriate that I should preside over this meeting. It might seem more fitting that some one of older date in the anti-slavery struggle—some one of those who also had incurred the censorious criticisms and social martyrdom to which his life has been much exposed, should stand at his side to-night to receive and to share in your generous recognition. But in giving him this welcome back to the country we desire to bring distinctly before him the new phase through which it is passing; slavery, now held to be incompatible with Union; liberty, then denied speech, now holding the sword; the nation in arms for the principle he advocated, hostile to compromises, impatient of delays; its old tolerance changed into settled hatred against the cause of this war and deeply resolved so to deal with it that the places which knew it shall know it no more. As one belonging to the body of the people to whom conviction has been brought by the logic of events which forced their consideration upon every man, and with the object of aiding our guest to realize the unanimity with which the nation is moving to the accomplishment of its object, I am honored with a request to preside here this evening. To our guest it must be more agreeable to realize the present than to remember the past. He comes now among us to witness the triumph of the principles for which he labored, and we are glad to have an occasion which we can use to express our obligations to him and his friends on the other side of the water for the services they have rendered us; to thank him individually, and as one of a class which in England represents the public conscience, loving justice, and intolerant of oppression, and to whom we are indebted for a tenacious adherence to our cause from the beginning of this war. Their sympathy for us reached from the starving Manchester operative refusing to petition Parliament to our injury, up to the throne itself which it touched and influenced. Indications during the past year have led us to infer a disposition toward friendliness on the part of England. This may come in part from an opposition to French policy, and more recently from that necessity for an ally which England begins to feel. But we believe it mainly due to the efforts of this class that she is still in a position to render an alliance between us possible. We recognize this influence in the check it has given to Southern sympathizers among them, and we take pleasure in believing that it has been under pressure of the same influence that England withdrew from all alliance with the attempt to place an Austrian throne upon the ruins of a sister republic—an attempt which shocks the public sentiment of this country and is eminently hostile to the stability of its institutions. And while we are making this recognition of the generous and consistent support we have received from the liberal party abroad, whose labor for us is a part only of their great work in the general interest of humanity, we cannot silently pass over the services rendered by their fellow-laborers on our own soil—services which have been only indirectly recognized, and in most scanty measure. What to-day is the position of the men who for the past thirty years have worked to bring our practice into conformity with the principles of the government, and who, in the struggle against established and powerful interests, have accepted political disability and humiliated lives? Have any of these been put in governing places, where their proved fidelity would guarantee the direct execution of what is to-day the nearly unanimous will of the people? Certainly not yet. So far, the virtue of the Reformers is its own reward. While they are yet living, their mantles have fallen upon the shoulders of others, to whom you have given high position, but they are still laboring in narrow paths—broadening, to be sure, and brightening—for the rough ground is passed, and their sun of victory is already rising. We give deep sympathy and honor to the men who, in the interests of civilization, separated themselves from mankind to penetrate the chill solitudes of the Arctic regions. Their names remain an added constellation in polar skies. But, we know that bitter skies and winter winds are not so unkind as man's ingratitude. And why, then, do we withhold sympathy and honor from these men who have so unflinchingly trod their isolated paths of self-appointed duty, accepting political and social excommunication—these heroes of the moral solitudes? But even as it is, our Reformers have a better lot than history usually records for such; they have the satisfaction not only to see but to enter, with the people whom they led, into the promised land. And perhaps they are well satisfied to repose, and to rest upon their finished work, feeling sure that they have been faithful servants and that their country will yet say to them "well done." Sometimes, in unfamiliar countries, the traveller finds himself shrouded in fog and the way so hidden, the features of the country so singularly changed from the reality, that he cannot safely move. But if some friendly mountain side lets him ascend a few hundred feet above he finds himself suddenly in a clear atmosphere with a blue sky and a shining sun. Below him, the smaller objects that misled and bewildered him lie hidden; before him stand out, salient and clear, the leading ridges and great outlines of the country which point out to him the right way, and show him where he may reach a place of security and repose for the night, and he goes on his journey confidently. And so it is with those men who devote their lives unflinchingly and singly to the public good—to the maintenance of principles and the advocacy of great reforms. They live in a pure atmosphere. And such ought also to be the character of the men whom we elevate to our high places. Raised into that upper air, and charged with the general safety, they are expected to be impersonal; they are expected to see over and beyond the personal ambitions and individual interests which of necessity influence men acting individually; their horizon is universal, and they see broadly defined the great principles which lead a nation continuously on to a settled prosperity and a sure glory. And as a condition of our material safety we should see to it that only such men are put in such places; men capable of receiving a conviction and realizing a necessity—men able to comprehend the spirit of the age and the country in which we live, and fearless in working up to it. I have made these few remarks, partly because they flow from my subject, and partly to suggest such ideas as may be an introduction to what our guest will have to say. I did not dwell upon acts that are necessarily familiar to you, but I desired merely to revive in your minds recollections of the character and services of the men whom he represents, and with permission I will now present him to you. Ladies and gentlemen, I have the honor to introduce a representative of the liberal Democracy of England, and a tried friend of America, Mr. George Thompson.

Speech of Mr. Thompson.

Mr. Thompson, on rising, was received with renewed applause, the larger portion of the assembly springing to their feet and expressing their enthusiasm by the waving of hats and handkerchiefs. He spoke as follows:

MR. CHAIRMAN, AND LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: When in my own country I have been called, as I frequently have been, to meet in conflict with those who have misrepresented—often because they misunderstood—and have aspersed the people and the institutions of this great country, I have generally found something to say, and however deficient in other respects, I have in such circumstances neither lacked courage nor confidence (applause). I have felt courage because I knew my cause was good (applause). I have felt confidence because I knew my arguments and my facts were irrefutable (applause). But, placed in a position such as I have the honor to occupy to-night, however gratifying to my feelings, however a cause of exultation, of unspeakable joy, of devout thankfulness, as an indication of the marvelous progress of public sentiment in this country, I nevertheless feel unmanned and altogether unable adequately to express my feelings, or suitably to acknowledge that compliment which has been paid me by your honorable and gallant Chairman, and responded to so warmly by yourselves (applause). For 35 years of my life I have lived in the atmosphere of controversy. All those years have been spent in conflict, grappling with great abuses, endeavoring to dispel thick ignorance, seeking to advance some unpopular cause linked with the lowly and the mean and the despised, and contending with the high, and the lofty, and the strong. How then shall I, all unused to these piping times of peace—you know the peace I mean—discharge the duty which now devolves upon me? I may say with Othello, when he stood before the Venitian Senate:

> "Rude am I in my speech,
> And little blessed with the set phrase of peace;
> For I have used
> My dearest action in the tented field;
> And therefore little shall I grace my cause,
> In speaking for myself."

Yet sirs, with your gracious patience, I will as speedily as possible get away from myself, the most unworthy of all topics, and come to some matters in which you and I are interested in common, and in the discussion of which I may take leave of the language of egotism.

I cannot stand to-day where I stand—I cannot remember the past and contemplate the present—I cannot look forward and anticipate swift-coming events, without feeling unutterable satisfaction in the circumstances by which I am surrounded. Only those in this audience whose age and whose recollection will carry them back for 30 years, or who are cognizant of the transactions of that distant day, can understand or can fathom the depth and intensity of those emotions which now strive for utterance in my breast. Thirty years ago, I landed upon the shores of America in this city. I was accompanied by my wife, by two infant children, and by a maid servant. I sought a temporary lodging in one of your most quiet, well-conducted, respectable hotels. But ere forty-eight hours had elapsed, I was expelled from that hotel; and as I would not expose my friends in this city—few but precious, few but noble, men and women of whom America then was not worthy, and has something yet to do before she will be worthy of them (applause)—because I would not expose their dwellings to destruction and their persons to outrage, I left the city of New York and took refuge on a neighboring shore. That was the New York of 1834. In fifteen years from that time I came to this country again. But New York gave me no welcome. New York was too busy with omnibus measures and compromises, with Union-saving meetings, with negro-hunting and negro-catching, to listen to George Thompson. And if they had listened to me my utterances would have been most unwelcome. When I landed here in 1850, after the passage of that execrable Fugitive Slave law (loud applause), the scandal of legislation, and, until repealed, the reproach of America (applause), it was impossible to obtain any public building or lecture-room in New York in which an Englishman who had followed Wilberforce to the grave, who had labored throughout his life in the cause of humanity, might speak that which he had to say. And so, sir, I had to go to Syracuse, in the interior of this State, to find an audience, few but select, to which I might disclose my mind. I come again. A generation has passed away. Once more I stand in the city of New York; not now to be molested, persecuted, banished, but to receive welcome, that welcome which you have kindly afforded and which I gratefully acknowledge (applause). What was my crime? What evil had I done, that I was thus treated like a leper by the people of America? In my country I had labored as a public man solely and exclusively for the cause of the oppressed. I had labored for the cause for which America, in the days of her first Revolution, fought and bled. The cause in which I had been engaged having triumphed at home, after assisting at the celebration of the first day of freedom for our West Indian slaves, I came to America for this simple

of 1,300,000 of the people of America. If you had reached the summit of your honorable ambition, it would have been well for America (applause). There would have been no traitors in the Cabinet (cheering). There would have been no felonious abstraction of Indian bonds; no transportation of arms from the arsenals of the Northern States to be placed in the hands of Southern traitors. There would have been no dispersion of the navy to the four quarters of the earth, so that when the nation's salvation was at stake, but one vessel could be found. There would have been no Ostend cabal. There would have been no plotting for the annexation of Cuba and Central America. There would have been no subserviency to the Slave Power. I believe you would have worked a miracle as great as that of St. Patrick in Ireland (laughter). You would have banished all kinds of snakes from the country, whether they be rattlesnakes or Copperheads (laughter and applause). But, sir, in England we know you, not as the President of the United States, but the daring Pathfinder (applause). Once and again, amid the snows of the Rocky Mountains, you found a path to the region of gold; and then, amid the rockier mountains of rebellion, in Missouri, you found a path there (enthusiastic applause and cheering). It was the right path. It was the safe path. It was the necessary path. It was the plain path. It was the path of justice, humanity, right, duty, and would have been the path of glory. I shall not say why you did not pursue it (laughter). But you have your reward. The Chief Executive of this mighty Republic has followed the Pathfinder (cheering). You would have emancipated a few thousands. He has proclaimed liberty to three million (applause). Whatever may be the term of years during which he may occupy the chair of Chief Magistrate of this country, the greatest glory of his Administration, the brightest lustre on his name, will be that he issued a proclamation saying that on the 1st of January, 1863, all the slaves in the rebel districts of the South should be thenceforward and forever free (applause). The path commenced in Missouri culminated there (applause). Honor to him who pursued it so far and so well; honor to the man who discovered it for himself (applause). Yes, my friends, as it was said of Napoleon, that he would go down to posterity with the code which bears his name in his hand, so it may be said of Abraham Lincoln, that he will descend to future ages holding in his right hand that immortal proclamation. Be it yours, people of America, to make it sure. Be it yours to give it effect. Be it yours, to convert it into a reality. Rest not, pause not, until every negro, made legally and constitutionally free by that instrument, stands erect, his shackles gone, invested with the dignity of a man, and clothed with the privileges of a citizen (applause).

You have been fighting battles here. On the other side of the Atlantic we have had our battles; bloodless, but often severe and acrimonious. If you have Copperheads here, we have Copperheads there. A word about those Copperheads. I can understand the rebels. They had a cause. They fought for an idea. They had a plan, a programme, a principle, an object in view, and in seeking that object they have risked all, dared all; and, whatever we may deny them, this we must grant them, that in daring and in devotion they are worthy of a better cause. But what shall I say of those who, living on this side of Mason and Dixon's line, and professing loyalty, pretending to regard the institutions under which they live as the wisest and best and most beneficent under which any community of men have lived, are daily, hourly, sympathizing with those on the other side of that line who are seeking the destruction of whatever is prized by the honest, and the just, and the patriotic? I can have no sympathy with the slaveholder—with the Southern man. I can feel nothing but scorn and contempt for the man who, in the North, can profess to be a loyal citizen here, and yet a friend and sympathizer with rebels elsewhere (applause). You have complained strongly, and often justly, of the want of sympathy in England toward you in your trials in this country. I admit that in many respects we have been blameworthy. I confess that to the present moment there are those in England who not only do not sympathize with you, but who would gladly witness your discomfiture and your defeat. But with regard to the great mass of the people of England, I may say there never has been a time when the English people—the great mass of the English people—did not sympathize with their brethren in America in all their efforts to achieve that which was really excellent and good. But remember always that the masses of the people in England are not as well informed upon American affairs as you are. The ignorance of our population in England touching America, its Constitution, the rights of the several States, and their relations to the Federal government, the meaning of your various platforms and your political nomenclature is ludicrous. In some respects, it is natural. Who in the world, unless he be a thoroughly educated American, educated in the politics of his country, not merely the general politics, but the local, the sectional, the minute politics of the country, can understand all that is said? In England we hear, through the columns of your papers, of such old-fashioned classes as Federalists and Republicans; then of Whigs and Democrats; then of Know-Nothings and Americans; but we also hear of Locofoco men, and Lone Star men, and Manifest Destiny men, and Silver Greys, and Woolly Heads, and Pewter Mugs, and Hard Shells, and Soft Shells, and Fillibusters, and Old Line Whigs, etc., etc. (laughter). As my Lord Derby said of the Administration of the Whig Cabinet, in the opening of Parliament, "This is enough to throw us all into a muddle." I am not so ignorant myself. I ought to be ashamed, perhaps, to say that I know a great deal more about your politics than about English politics. I have got your platforms by heart. I can give you the history of every party; the objects at which it aimed, and the fate which it reached. I know something of all your public men. When I come to America I find myself in a congenial atmosphere. Nothing strikes me with surprise, unless it be the extraordinary enlargement of a city like New York, or that while the alarums of war are sounding in the South, you in the North appear to be so full of prosperity, and energy, and hope. But the people of England generally are not well informed upon American affairs; and they have but few means of being informed. The papers published in this country that are most widely disseminated in England, do not give the most just representation of the true state of things here. I will undertake to say that not one man in a thousand in England knew by what combination of elements Mr. Lincoln was placed in the Presidential chair, or could have answered the question what were the distinctive features of the political platform upon which he was elected. And so, when the war broke out, and all kinds of misrepresentations were given to the people touching the objects and aims of the Republican party, it should not be a matter of surprise that the people of England did not instantly give you their sympathy. There were some things occurring in this country which were stumbling-blocks in their way, and I am bound to mention them. The speech delivered by your excellent President from the steps of the Capitol, on the 4th of March, 1861, seemed to look much more favorably to the South than to the North, and certainly did not give to the people of England, whatever it might present to the eye of the understanding American, any evidence that Mr. Lincoln meant while in the Presidential chair to grapple with the giant abomination of the land. He seemed to be careful and studious to prove to the South that in his hands their interests and institutions would be safe. I knew enough of American politics, and of the meaning of what Mr. Lincoln then uttered, to know that that which he said was for the purpose of showing how jealously he guarded the Constitution of his country, and how determined he was that in his hands its powers should not be transcended, and that there should be no invasion of the guaranteed rights of the sister States of the South. But it did not so appear to the people of England. It will be in your recollection that very soon after that, Congress passed a series of resolutions, setting forth what were and what were not the objects of the war; and among the objects that were not to be pursued by the war, was any interference in the matter of slavery. These resolutions were followed speedily by dispatches from Mr. Seward to the representatives of the United States at foreign Courts, charging those representatives to discourage the idea in the minds of the people of Europe that the policy of the government or the efforts of the government would be directed to the effecting of any alteration in the status of the negro. Those dispatches laid the representatives of this country under an embargo against even as much as allowing the question of slavery to be named in any of their conferences with the foreign ministers of other countries. It will be within your recollection, too, that certain acts and certain utterances of your public men were of a character calculated to convey to the mind of the people abroad the idea that you were fighting simply for the reintegration of your territory and the reëstablishment of your Constitution, and that the interests, and claims, and rights of the negro population, were not included in the objects of the war. But when that good work commenced, which is still progressing, when Mr. Lincoln, in conjunction with Congress, began that series of measures which, I may say, exceed in beneficence and scope and value any measures of legislation compressed within the same space of time in any age of the world (applause); when we saw the District of Columbia purged of slavery; when we saw the laws for the suppression of the slave trade enforced; when we saw the man-stealer gibbeted in the City of New York; when we saw those vast North-western Territories wrested from the polluting tread of the tyrant; when we saw you entering into diplomatic relations with Hayti and Liberia (applause); when we saw you, of your own motion, identifying yourselves by treaty with England in the work of suppressing the odious traffic in men along the shores of Africa; when we found Congress and Mr. Lincoln together pledging themselves to the Border and other slave States, that in the event of emancipation they should be compensated for the loss of their human property, and finally when there came out that noble edict, that if, after the lapse of 100 days, the slave States, or the people of the South, should not return to their allegiance, every slave in every rebel district should cease to be a thing, and rise into the stature of a man, then all England felt convinced that the path you, Mr. Chairman, had found, the nation had entered upon, and would never cease to prosecute it until it ended in universal freedom (great applause). Something, too, in accounting for this lack of sympathy on the part of the people of England must be ascribed to the unceasing industry of secession agents in England. You know very well they were all over Europe; but in England they were specially vigilant and active. What money they spent I cannot pretend to say; but I think they did find means, whatever those means may have been, to influence, to a considerable extent, the press of our country, and to cause our public writers to take those distorted and false views of the state of things here which from day to day they placed before the public. But when there was the least evidence of its being the intention of the government at Washington to adopt an Emancipation policy, there was always a body of men in England, a great majority of the population, who cherished sincere sympathy with you. Like me, they contended that, slavery apart, you had a right to seek the restoration of your Union; you had a right to reëstablish the Constitution that had been overthrown and trampled in the dust; you had a right to rescue from the hands of spoliators the property they had traitorously taken away. Most of the people of England recognized your right to do these things, and the consequence was that when that series of measures to which I have referred commenced, we proceeded to form societies all over the country, and the name these societies took in England was Union and Emancipation societies; for by that time we had become convinced that Union meant Emancipation, and that Union was the way to Emancipation (applause).

As an evidence that the great mass of the people have been sound on the question of American affairs, I may recur to the fact that the secession party in England have never been able to hold a successful public meeting. They tried an experiment in London, and, small as it was, it was sufficient to convince them that an appeal to the public would have no good effect upon their cause. More than two years ago the Confederates opened two drawing-rooms on the first floor in a fashionable street in London, in the neighborhood of Portland place, in immediate contiguity to the American Embassy, and by circulars sent carefully out, they invited those who might receive them to come and hear American affairs discussed. I got one of those circulars. I could not go myself, but I sent my representative and substitute. I placed my invitation in the hands of William Andrew Jackson, the coachman of Jefferson Davis (laughter), who had left Richmond and found his way to London, and was at the time and for several months under my roof. I did more than that. I gave timely intimation to the Union and Emancipation Society of London, and they sent three men to parade backward and forward before the door of No. 3 Devonshire street, Portland square. Each of these men had a board behind and a board before (laughter)—we call them sandwiches in London (renewed laughter)—appealing at once to the eye and the understanding of all who might go to No. 3 Devonshire place. [The speaker here displayed a number of large hand-bills which were thus placarded, one of which contained the picture of a negro with an iron collar.] These are pictures for Confederates. This is our mode of anti-slavery made easy in England (applause). I had a public meeting to attend that night. Going home about 10 o'clock, I found Jackson had arrived, and I said: "Well, what sort of a meeting was it?" "Well," said he, "they looked very suspicious at me when they took my card and told me I could go up stairs. About thirty persons were present. One of them I knew exceedingly well, for I had often seen him at Richmond. It was Mr. Mason. And," said he, "after a lecture of about three quarters of an hour long from Dr. Lampreire, who ordered a man to be removed, because he ventured to question the accuracy of one of his statements, I asked a gentleman present if he would be kind enough to introduce me to Mr. Mason (laughter). And I was brought up to Mr. Mason and introduced. He asked me where I came from. I told him from Richmond, the capital of Virginia, and that I had had the honor of driving Mr. and Mrs. Davis about the city for 12 months" (great laughter). Having shown you these placards, I may say that we have been carrying on in England a very energetic war in this description of article (laughter). In addition to fly-leaves, and handbills, and tracts, and pamphlets which have been scattered, I think I may say, almost by the million, we have covered the walls of our cities and towns and villages, East, West, North and South, with placards, not always pictorial in part as this is (the negro with the iron collar), but placards even larger than these, so that he who ran might read something that would instruct him with regard to the American question and the claims of the American slave (applause). I will state, however, before I dismiss this particular placard, that after Jackson's introduction to Mr. Mason he kept very close by the "Confederate" commissioner and followed him down stairs; and, as Mr. Mason descended the steps of the house, the three men—walking sandwiches—were standing under the gaslight at the door, presenting these pictures fully in the view of the Confederate envoy. He started, and, as your shrewd American reporters would say, he hastily vamoosed (laughter). Here is another of these placards, representing a negro whose back has been scourged. If I mistake not, this negro came into the Union lines in the neighborhood of New Orleans. Here is another, headed "Southern Recognition — Immediate Emancipation." To give you some idea of the contents of these placards, I will notice the subjects to which some of them relate. Here is one headed "Secession condemned in a Southern Convention." It is the well-known emphatic speech of Stephens, Vice-President of the Confederacy, in the Georgia Convention. Another of these placards reads thus: "Southern recognition and real Emancipation. The advocates of Southern recognition are telling the public that there is no hope for the abolition of negro slavery but in the voluntary action of the Southern States themselves. They also declare their conviction that, if separated from the Northern States and recognized by Europe, the Southern slaveholders would be *certain* to emancipate their slaves" (laughter). Yes, we should be certain to collect the customs if excisemen made our laws. Then follows this: "Those who have given a credulous ear to these distorted representations of crafty Southern parties should read the following unmistakable passage from the most influential organ of the slaveholding Confederacy, the Richmond *Examiner* of May 28, 1863." Another placard is headed in very large letters, "Caution—obtaining signatures to petitions under false pretences." Then follow these words: "The agents of the Southern Slavemongers' Confederacy are again at their work. They are seeking by cunningly-devised misrepresentations to entrap the unwary. They no longer avow that their aim is a recognition of the Slave Power and European intervention to break the blockade, saying that the government, Parliament, and the press of the country have decided almost unanimously that the duty of the nation and the interests of human-ity demand an adherence to the policy of strict neutrality and non-intervention. They now propose what they ambiguously call a peaceful European mediation. Let no one be deceived; the phrase is altered, but the meaning and object are the same. Mediation implies recognition, and recognition means intervention, and intervention is war" (applause). "War with America would not only keep back cotton, but would also stop the importation of corn, double the price of food, and involve us in ruinous taxation. Workingmen and women of Lancashire, when these agents of the Southern slavemongers visit your mills and habitations and ask you to sign their deceitful petition, telling you that their object is to stop the war, get cheap cotton, and raise your wages, answer them with indignation. Tell them that their cotton is wet with the tears and red with the blood of the slave (applause). Spurn their infamous proposals; sign none of their petitions; vote for none of their resolutions, but shun men so callous to all claims of conscience and humanity" (applause). Here is another headed, "What is the South fighting for?" It then gives extracts from the most significant and pregnant portions of Stephens's speech in Savannah, Ga., immediately after the adoption of the Confederate Constitution. It then quotes from a variety of Southern newspapers, giving short and emphatic extracts from them, and then it closes with: "Englishmen, it is to support a system like this that ships are now being built on the Mersey, the Clyde, and the Tyne, which may bring you to the very verge of war with the United States, and that a Confederate cotton loan is now being negotiated in this country to pay for such ships. The downfall of the American Republic is to teach you that slavery, black and white, is right and necessary, and to establish a new order of things, wherein all the rich shall own all the poor. Be warned in time, and let your sympathies be given to those who support the cause of Union and freedom" (applause). Now most of these placards have originated in Lancashire, and were intended for the enlightenment and direction of the working population of that part of country. And speaking of that portion of our people allow me to say that no terms I can use would adequately express the feelings of admiration with which their conduct has been regarded by all classes of the British people. As you are aware they have had to pass through many severe trials; yet in the worst of those trials they have openly declared their resolution rather to continue under the privations incident to a famine of cotton than for the sake of bettering their condition give any check to the means being adopted in this country for putting down the rebellion and promoting the cause of human freedom (applause). And as a proof that even in Lancashire where the Confederates are strongest, where they have what is called a Southern club, where they had spent a large amount of money and have placarded the walls in a similar way to that in which we have done; yet in Manchester itself they are not able to hold a meeting great or small. I may state that a few weeks before I left England they had determined to attempt to hold a monster meeting in a building known as the Free Trade Hall, which would contain 6,000 or 7,000 persons. We have repeatedly filled that hall with the sympathizers of the North (applause). From that hall emanated on the last day of December, 1862, an address to President Lincoln, for we had faith in him and in the people by whom he was supported, to believe that the proclamation which had been issued in September would become a fact in January (applause). And so in every large building in the kingdom we have held similar meetings; and when I left England no building in the kingdom was large enough to bring together the numbers that desired to assemble whenever we announced our intention to hold a meeting in favor of the North [applause]. The Confederate parties accordingly went and engaged Free Trade Hall, and paid twenty guineas deposit. Then, with a view of ascertaining what the probabilities of success would be, they held three or four small meetings. In every one of these meetings they were defeated—not because any exertions were used by the Union and Emancipation Society of Manchester, but because the operatives themselves had sagacity and good sense enough to see the sophistry of those employed to speak, and attachment enough to the cause of human liberty to reject every offer made by them of harrassing the government of this country [applause]. And to give you an instance of the temper and feeling of the citizens of London, Mr. Mason, during his residence in England, made two speeches—one in which he spoke very positively of the Confederate cause at that time, and prophesied its speedy triumph. It was in the Hall of the Fishmongers' Company of London—a most appropriate place, for he had a very fishy subject to deal with [laughter]. The company, however, is a most respectable and wealthy one, and they invited Mr. Mason to one of their annual dinners. That appearance in public passed off without observation. Then came the Trent affair, and on Mr. Mason's return to England last year he was invited to dine at the Mansion House, the official residence of the Lord Mayor. He went there, and it seems that a little cabal in his favor had been organized, and when the Lord Mayor gave one of his routine toasts, "the guest of the evening," Mr. Mason's particular friends immediately called out, "Mr. Mason, Mr. Mason." Nothing loth, and with a speech I have no doubt most carefully prepared, Mr. Mason got up and thanked not only the Lord Mayor for his hospitality, but the people of England for the hospitality he had universally received [laughter]. Well, sir, it so happened that the Emancipation Committee met the next night in London, and at my suggestion they framed, adopted and published in the morning papers a resolution denouncing the Lord Mayor as having been guilty of conduct disgraceful to the city of London in entertaining at his table the infamous author of the Fugitive Slave law [long applause], the reviler of the petition of 3,000 ministers of religion in New England, when they prayed for a righteous intervention during the civil war in Kansas, and the chief inquisitor in that Committee of the Senate that sent through the length and breadth of the land to bring to its bar those who might be implicated in the effort, well meant and glorious, of that great man, that saint, hero and martyr of 1859—John Brown [loud applause]. We not only did that, but we called a public meeting in St. James's Hall, and there was assigned to me the most agreeable and delightful task, I assure you, of dealing with the Hon. Mr. Mason and with the right Hon. Lord Mayor, his friend [laughter]—and I did not spare one or the other [applause]. The Chamberlain of London very kindly searched the records and gave me the resolutions in Common Council tendering the hospitalities of the city from time to time to some of the most eminent philanthropists and heroes our own and other countries had produced. There were resolutions to Howard, Wilberforce, Clarkson, Granville Sharpe, Cobden; also, to Louis Kossuth and Joseph Garibaldi. I made good use of them at the public meeting. Immediately after, the Governors of one of our greatest institutions in London, St. Bartholomew's Hospital, one of our first schools of surgery, presided over for many years by John Abernethy, met for the purpose of electing their President. From time immemorial, so long as this institution had existed, it had been an invariable custom, without discussion, to elect the Lord Mayor for the time being, as the President of that institution. Sir, the effect of our agitation, if not the spontaneous disapproval of what the Lord Mayor had done in having Mr. Mason at his table, led to his rejection by a vote of 78 to 11 [applause]. Well, will you not think a little more kindly of us after I have told you all this? [Voices — Yes, yes, and applause.] Will you not think kindly of us when I tell you that the name of Lincoln in England is a name never mentioned but there are three cheers of the heartiest applause! [Applause.] You need have no fear of England to-night. If there had been cause to fear, I would not have been here. Infinitely rather would I have been fighting your battles at home, than receiving your kindly welcome here [applause]. And if there should yet be hazard—if there should yet be aught of difference between the two countries that would endanger the continuance of peace, or lead to a deeper intensification of those feelings of mortification which you have felt at our conduct, no kindness to myself, personally, would keep me on your soil; I would go, a self-deputed ambassador, to England, to pray my countrymen, in the name of whatever is sacred, not to fall out with their kinsmen on the other side of the ocean [loud applause]. One word, and I have done. I have a message to you from hundreds and thousands, and tens of thousands, of my own countrymen. I come to you charged to say this—and I give you the message with all affection, respect and love. It is, that in this great matter of slavery, this bane of your country, this fly in your pot of ointment, this blot upon your fair escutcheon, this dark cloud that has so long hovered upon the horizon of your prospects—that with this institution of slavery you make short work, and thorough work, and utterly annihilate it out of the land [cheers]. Oh, that America may hear the voice of those terrible but grand events which are now in awful procession passing before her! Out of the midst of treason and disruption, of rapine and desolation, of bereavement and mourning, of battle and of blood, comes to you a voice, and it is the voice of God. It says to you, in this the hour at once of your trial and your opportunity, while yet the clock is striking, while yet the staff of accomplishment is in your hands, it says to you: "Loose the bands of wickedness; undo the heavy burdens; let the oppressed go free; break every yoke. Then shall thy light break forth as the morning, thy righteousness shall go before thee, and the glory of the Lord shall bring up the rear. Then thou shalt call, and He will answer; thou shalt cry, and He shall say, Behold, here I am. If thou wilt take away from the midst of thee the yoke, the putting forth of the finger and speaking vanity, and bring the poor that are cast out into thy house; then shall thy light rise in obscurity, and thy darkness be as the noonday. And the Lord God himself shall guide thee continually. And they that be of thee shall build the old waste places; thou shalt raise up the foundations of many generations; and thou shalt be called the Repairer of the Breach, the Restorer of paths to dwell in. And I will cause thee to ride upon the high places of the earth, and feed thee with the heritage of my chosen people; for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it."

When Mr. Thompson sat down the whole assembly broke forth in tumultuous applause, in the midst of which were heard loud cries of "Tyng," "Tyng," to which the Rev. Stephen H. Tyng, D.D., promptly responded, making an eloquent appeal for the extension to the negro of all the rights and privileges accorded to the white man. [We hope to be able to publish his remarks hereafter].

Mr. Theodore Tilton was also called out, and spoke as follows:

Dr. Tyng thought you called for him because he was an Abolitionist of long standing, and I suppose you summon me because of my being (by a few inches, at least) one of still longer standing [laughter]. Now, after hearing from an Englishman what we have heard to-night, we may take the lines which Lord Chatham, quoting from Matthew Prior, said once of America, and say them now of England:

"Be to her faults a little blind,
Be to her virtues very kind." [Applause.]

Shall I undertake to add anything to the noble words spoken here to-night for Liberty? No. Go home and tell your children that you heard in one night two orators—the man who taught eloquence to Wendell Phillips, and the man who taught statesmanship to Abraham Lincoln [great applause].

After the adjournment of the meeting, a very large number of people pressed upon the platform to tender their personal congratulations to Mr. Thompson.

Copperhead Peace Proposition.—In the House, on Monday, Mr. Long of Ohio offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That the President of the United States be and he is hereby most earnestly but respectfully requested to appoint Franklin Pierce of New Hampshire, Millard Fillmore of New York, and Thomas Ewing of Ohio, and such other persons as the President shall see proper to select as Commissioners on the part of the United States, who shall be empowered to meet Commissioners of a like number for the same object on behalf of the Confederate States, at such time and place as may be agreed upon, to ascertain, before a renewal of hostilities, whether the war shall not come to a close, and the Union restored by a return of all the States to their allegiance and rights under the Constitution.

Mr. Dawes of Massachusetts inquired of Mr. Long whether he would not substitute Vallandigham for Ewing or Fillmore, while Mr. Ashley (Un., O.) thought Mr. Buchanan ought to be added to the list of Commissioners. The resolution was rejected by a vote of 96 to 22.

The Mammoth Petition. — As the Women's Loyal National League have pledged themselves to roll up a million of signatures to the petition for emancipation, it is but just that all petitions touching slavery should be sent to them, Room No. 20, Cooper Institute, there to be assorted, counted and credited where they belong, that all may know, in this race for freedom, how each State stands.

Chronicles of the War.

Latest News in Brief.

FROM THE SOUTHWEST.

Gen. Sherman's whereabouts is not certainly known. Scouts who arrived at Gen. Grant's headquarters report that he had struck the Mobile and Ohio Railroad, and that the people at Selma and Montgomery had become terror-stricken at his approach. A not very reliable Nashville dispatch speaks of him as having cut Polk's army in two, and each wing was running away from the other. Sherman is said to be subsisting upon the country through which he passes.

The great cavalry expedition of Gens. Smith and Grierson has returned to its starting point, near Memphis, having been unsuccessful in forming a junction with Gen. Sherman, in consequence of the concentration of the enemy's forces in superior numbers. Our troops penetrated to West Point, Miss., a distance of 130 miles, where all the rebel cavalry force was formed ready to impede our progress. Considerable fighting ensued, the rebels endeavoring first to cut our column in two, and then to cut it off, but without success. In these engagements the rebels lost very heavily. Our troops finally fell back, destroying the railroad as they retreated. Although the expedition failed in its main object there were yet some very important results. It destroyed over one million bushels of rebel corn, a large amount of cotton and provisions, captured 1,500 mules, and 300 prisoners, and brought in 2,000 negroes.

The latest dispatch from Chattanooga says that the movement toward Dalton, Ga., was simply intended as a reconnoissance in force, and that having accomplished its purpose, ascertaining that the rebels were posted there in great strength, our troops returned to Tunnel Hill, which they still occupy.

Advices from Knoxville to the 23d ult. state that Gen. Stoneman returned that day from a reconnoissance toward Sevierville. After going ten miles out, and finding no enemy, they learned from reliable sources that the enemy left Sevierville on the 22d, and crossed the French Broad River at a bridge. Latest reports say there are very few rebels at Strawberry Plains, and none on the north side of the Holston. It is believed that Longstreet fell back for want of forage, the country he has been occupying being entirely stripped.

ARMY OF THE POTOMAC.

The news from the Army of the Potomac is up to 9 o'clock Tuesday morning, at which time Gen. Custer's cavalry were sharply engaged with the enemy beyond Madison Court-house, in the direction of Stannardsville, on Lee's left flank. Madison Court-house was in our possession. Lee's communications with Richmond are reported cut. Kilpatrick crossed the Rapidan on Saturday night, and at once penetrated to Spotsylvania Court-house, from which point he was to operate in Lee's rear, even to the very gates of Richmond. A report was current at Culpepper Tuesday morning, to the effect that he had whipped Hampton's rebel legion badly, and taken several hundred prisoners, including Hampton himself. The cavalry operations are the leading feature of the present movement.

REPULSE IN FLORIDA.

Our troops under Gen. Seymour have met with a serious repulse in Florida. The blame appears to rest upon Gen. Seymour, who advanced without throwing out flankers, thus falling into a trap and encountering a force three times as large as his own. Our loss in killed and wounded is over 1,200 in a force of 5,000. The colored troops suffered heavily. Important testimony as to their behavior is printed in another place.

The Army and the Negroes.

"Everywhere the American General receives his most useful and reliable information from the Negro, *who hails his coming as the harbinger of Freedom.*"—*Wm. H. Seward's Official Dispatch to Mr. Adams.*

IMPORTANT ORDER BY ADJ.-GEN. THOMAS.

Nashville, Feb. 16.—Adj.-Gen. Thomas, who, since his arrival here, has been for the most time engaged in perfecting arrangements for the vast number of "contrabands" congregated in our midst, has issued the following order. It gives assurance that the colored people who have sought freedom and protection within the Federal lines in this department will not be permitted to suffer from want and destitution:

Orders No. 2.—I. A camp for the reception of contrabands will at once be established in the vicinity of Nashville, Tenn. The entire control and supervision of the same will be under Capt. Ralph Hunt, First Regiment Kentucky Volunteers, subject to such orders as he may receive from the Commanding General of the Department of the Cumberland. The Quartermaster's Department will furnish all the materials and supplies necessary to shelter and protect the negroes destined to be located in this camp. If practicable, the contrabands will be quartered in log houses, to be constructed by the negroes themselves; but in the interim, tents will be furnished for their accommodation. The several Staff Departments will issue all supplies necessary for the wants of these people, on the requisition of the officer in charge of the camp, approved by the officer commanding the nearest post.

II. A detail of eight subalterns from regiments of African descent, will be ordered to report for duty to Capt. Ralph Hunt, First Kentucky Volunteers, commandant of the camp, for the purpose of aiding him in the performance of his duties. It shall form a part of their duties to visit the plantations, farms, wood-yards, and other places where negroes may be employed, for the purpose of inquiring into their condition, and to see that the engagements between them and their employers are promptly and faithfully carried out on both sides. Any failure on the part of the employer to carry out his engagement will be immediately reported to the Commanding General of the nearest Military District, who will at once take action in the matter.

III. The following regulations for the government of freedmen in the Department of the Cumberland are announced for the information of all concerned:

1. All male negroes coming within our lines, who, after examination, shall be found capable of bearing arms, will be mustered into companies and regiments of colored troops in process of organization. All others, including men incapable of bearing arms, women and children, instead of being permitted to remain in camp in idleness, will be required to perform such labor as may be suited to their condition in the respective Staff Departments of the army, on plantations or farms, leased or otherwise, within our lines; as woodchoppers, teamsters, or in any way that their labor can be made available.

2. All civilians of known loyalty, having possession of plantations, farms, wood-yards, or otherwise engaged, may, upon application to the commandant of the contraband camp, hire such negroes (including a fair proportion of children) as they may desire, if possible, for actual service. In all such cases, the employers will enter into a written engagement to pay, feed and treat humanely all the negroes turned over to them, and none shall be hired for a less term than one year, commencing on the 1st day of January, 1864. Should it be desirable, and the employer furnish clothing to the hired hands, the same shall be deducted from their pay at the actual cost price.

3. When found impracticable to find persons of sufficient character and responsibility to give employment to all negroes liable to be employed, the respective Generals of Districts may designate such abandoned or confiscated plantations or farms as they may deem most suitable, to be worked by the negroes, upon such terms as in their judgment shall be best adapted to the welfare of this class of people—taking care that in all cases the negroes shall be self-sustaining, and not a burthen upon the government.

4. The wages to be paid for labor shall be as follows: For all able-bodied males over fifteen years of age, not less than $7 per month; for able-bodied females over fifteen years of age, not less than $5 per month; for children between the age of twelve and fifteen, half the above amounts; children under fourteen years of age shall not be used as field hands, and families must be kept together when they do so desire. The employer also must furnish such medical advice as may be required, at his own expense.

IV. In order the more fully to carry out the requirements of this order, the commanders of military districts are authorized, when necessary, to lease abandoned plantations to loyal citizens, on such terms as may be equitable.

By order of the Secretary of War.

L. Thomas, Adj.-Gen.

THE RECRUITING OF COLORED TROOPS AT ALEXANDRIA.

Gov. Pierrepont, of Virginia, has addressed a letter to President Lincoln, stating that he has no objection to the recruiting of colored men at Alexandria. This may lead to a removal of the embargo here on their going North.—*Wash. Cor. Times.*

COLONEL STREIGHT'S ESCAPE.

Col. Streight confesses that he and his companions owed their escape from capture, after leaving the Libby prison, to the kindness of the negroes. On reaching the Pamunkey river they found it too deep to ford, while the weather was so cold that to swim across was impossible. Says the correspondent of *The Herald*: "Thus far they had abstained from coming in contact with any one, white or black. They were compelled to call in contraband assistance, and in accomplishing this were four days. At length they got a negro, and the negro got a boat, and in this way they got across the river. And now good fortune smiled on them. This negro turned them over to another negro, who piloted them fifteen miles down the opposite bank of the river. As a good many of the rebel soldiers, and particularly the cavalry living in this vicinity and Gloucester County, were home on furloughs, they still had to move with exceeding caution. But the kindness of the negroes saved them from capture. They were brought down to York river and sent across by a skiff at Bigelow's landing. From here they went down the river, passing West Point in daylight. Here, seeing no one save negro soldiers on picket, was the first positive assurance of reaching our lines." In view of facts like these, how mean and base appear the efforts to so "reconstruct" the State governments of the South as to leave the negroes, our truest friends, to the mercy of their late masters!

THE COLORED TROOPS IN TENNESSEE.

Captain R. D. Mussey, Commissioner for the organization of colored troops in East and Middle Tennessee, issued a circular from Nashville on the 15th ult., the concluding section of which is as follows:

"X. No person is wanted as an officer in a colored regiment who 'feels that he is making a sacrifice in accepting a position in a colored regiment,' or who desires the place simply for higher rank and pay. It is the aim of those having this organization in charge to make colored troops equal, if not superior, to the best of white troops in drill, discipline and officers. It is more than possible that colored troops will hereafter form no inconsiderable portion of the permanent army of the United States, and it should be the aim of every officer of colored troops to make himself and his men fit for such an honorable position.

"It can be no 'sacrifice' to any man to command in a service which gives liberty to slaves, and manhood to chattels, as well as soldiers to the Union."

Another passage in this circular declares that "should incompetent or bad men find their way accidentally into one of these regiments, they will be weeded out immediately."

The correspondent of *The Tribune*, writing from Memphis, Feb. 20, says: "Brig.-Gen. Augustus L. Cheltain and staff arrived here on Thursday on the steamer Sultana, from St. Louis, for the purpose of organizing, drilling, and thoroughly equipping the entire force of colored troops in Tennessee. Gen. Cheltain is highly spoken of by those familiar with his past military career since the beginning of the slaveholders' rebellion. He is said to be as humane as gallant, and in entering upon this important field of labor his philanthropy and quick judgment will have ample scope for exercise. Up to the present time, Tennessee has 31,000 white troops and 13,000 colored troops in the field, fighting the betrayers of our land. The enlistment of negro troops is rapidly increasing, and in many districts I am told there is a universal desire to enlist, particularly among the athletic slaves, who are daily flocking to our lines in large numbers, despite the strict surveillance of their former rebel owners. Loyal Tennesseans boast that their redeemed State will have over 50,000 black troops in the field by the middle of May. Gen. Cheltain will at once enter upon the active discharge of his duties, by order of Adj.-Gen. Thomas, and hereafter recruiting officers and commandants of all colored forces will report to him for further instructions at the headquarters in Memphis.

A FEARFUL BUT JUST RETRIBUTION.

Haynes's Bluff, Mississippi, February 5th, 1864.

Editors Missouri Democrat:

Col. Wm. F. Wood, formerly Lieutenant Colonel 1st Indiana cavalry, in command of the 1st Arkansas, his present regiment, with the 3d Mississippi, 10th Louisiana and part of the 1st Mississippi cavalry, left Haynes's Bluff on the evening of the 2d of February, with orders from Maj.-Gen. McPherson to dislodge the enemy from Mechanicsburg, Mississippi.

During the march, George Williams, private of company A, 3d Mississippi, fell in the rear; after the rear guard had passed, four rebels dashed upon him and murdered him in cold blood. Our forces having succeeded in capturing two of the murderers, the Colonel was determined to set an example of retaliation for the many outrages committed upon the black soldiers, particularly in this case, since it appeared from the examination made by Dr. Bennett the medical officer who accompanied the expedition, and from the evidence of a woman who was an eye-witness of the scene, that this was one of the most brutal murders of the war. The man was shot in the head from behind, then beaten with the butt end of the gun. The Colonel called the two prisoners before him, and in the presence of the officers and five or six other prisoners, calmly told them their fate, that in three hours they must die; all present, both officers and men, felt the justice of the sentence. Chaplains Smith, of the 3d Mississippi, and Skeggs, of the 1st Arkansas, tried to prepare the unhappy men for their fate. At the appointed hour—sunset—they were led forth in the presence of the whole command, the enemy meanwhile keeping up a brisk skirmish on our outposts, and witnesses of the scene. A lieutenant with three platoons numbering six each, detailed from the three infantry regiments, executed the order. The prisoners met their fate with stoical indifference. The whole affair was characterized by the greatest solemnity. There was no exultation, no shouting, but perfect stillness prevailed. We shed a silent tear for the unhappy men, yet each said amen to the sentence. The officers of this command feel proud that they have a commander who has thus stepped into the breach with nerve enough to retaliate for the outrages committed on our black soldiers.

We are all convinced that Col. Wood will not pursue a milk and water course, making weak speeches and wasting paper writing on the subject. The names of the men who were shot are Michael Tolen McClung and Berry Starks, privates, company I, 6th Texas cavalry.

COLORED TROOPS IN MARYLAND.

Camp Stanton, Benedict, Md., February 5, 1864.

To the Editor of The Transcript, Boston.

Now that a somewhat maturer experience with the negroes of this (Brig.-Gen. Wm. Birney's) brigade will enable me, even as an emancipationist, to give a more deliberate and impartial opinion concerning them, permit me, through your columns, to make known my impressions in regard to their character and intelligence. I must say without reserve that I find in this oppressed race all I have ever claimed for them—patience, gratitude, a confiding temperament, and above all, religion.

Within our camp are whole streets, lined with cedar and holly, which ring all day long with the laugh of a thousand happy children, and at evening are filled with the weird melody of hymns which these people have carried in their hearts through the misery and degradation of over half a century. Could you see them, as I have, in the hospitals, dying almost daily from the malarious effects of the climate, with no friend to offer spiritual consolation—yet "out of the depths" crying in tears to God and Christ, never dreaming of blasphemy, but yielding gently with a patient resignation indeed sublime; could you have listened, as I have done, to the humble contrition from the dying lips of those whose only crime is ignorance, you would bow, as I do, in reverence before a religion preserved pure and spotless amind scenes none but these forgiving souls can depict.

So, too, could you have witnessed their religious worship last Sunday, and watched the service deepening into an ecstacy of devotion, until the whole congregation seemed borne away in frenzied utterance, you had not perhaps sympathized in, yet had respected rites, which indeed had been heathen were they not Christian. With such a basis of national character I cannot but regard with peculiar interest the future of this people, deeming it more than probable that civilization will result in much nobility. This brings me to speak of our schools in this brigade, which have now been in operation since January 7th. I would desire that the progress of our pupils might rest upon no assurance of my own but upon practical observation, yet I am confident that I speak entirely within the bounds of truth when I assert that their proficiency in the acquirement of knowledge is fully equal if not greater than that of white children.

I would say that it is proportional to their progress in the manual of arms which many of us have witnessed at home. I have given particular directions that none should attend school save at their own desire, yet the number is always large, and at times it is difficult to prevent them from usurping the hour of other regiments, so eager and willing are they to learn. With such as these labor becomes only a pleasure, and devotion a privilege. There are of course dunces, men who forget with a readiness surpassing belief, but these are so few that I feel no shame in acknowledging their existence. It is most touching to watch the joy which each new acquis

Miscellaneous Department.

THE AMERICAN FLAG.

TO COL. ROBERT G. SHAW AND THE 54TH MASSACHUSETTS VOLUNTEERS.

BY GEORGE WILLIAM CURTIS.

At last, at last, each flowing fold
In that pure field of heav'nly azur
On every people shining proudly blue,
Burns, to its utmost star,
Hopes in our faith and promise true.
Justice, the sleepers' hearts that stirred,
O perfect peace! and calm of peace, long scorned,
At last, at last! ah, too long deferred,
At last, at last, your day has dawned.

Your day has dawned, but many an hour
Of storm and cloud, of doubt and tears,
Across the eternal sky must lower,
Before the glorious noon appears.

And not for us that noontide glow,
For us the strife and toil shall be;
But welcome toil, for now we know
Our children shall that glory see.

At last, at last, O Stars and Stripes!
Touched in your birth by Freedom's flame,
Your purifying lightning wipes
Out from our history its shame.

Stand to your faith, America!
Sad Europe listen to our call!
Up to your manhood, Africa!
That gracious flag floats over all.

And when the hour seems dark with doom,
Our sacred banner, lifted higher,
Shall flash away the gathering gloom
With inextinguishable fire.

Pure as its white the future see!
Bright as its red is now the sky!
Fixed as its stars the faith shall be,
That nerves our hands to do or die.

May, 1863.

THE UNION OF RACES.

From The Independent.

As some of our cotemporaries, who make no scruple of misrepresenting us, have challenged us for our opinion on this subject, we give it to-day, in the absence of a more pressing topic.

Carrying as a figure-head the new and strange word Miscegenation, a little pamphlet was lately launched into a sudden tempest of criticism. Remaining awhile on our table unread, our attention was specially called to it by noticing how savagely certain newspapers were abusing it. A book publicly sentenced to death always breaks jail and runs a good while at large. This brochure—which for treatment is clever, unelaborate, and ill-considered, and for style is not quite good or bad—has had a many-voiced condemnation into fame. The most reprehensible word in the English tongue—the one harder to pronounce than all others, and more shocking than a profane oath—is Amalgamation. Miscegenation is a substitute for this; coined from the Latin *Miscere*, to mix, and *Genus*, race; the mixing of races; used in this pamphlet, both in a general sense as signifying the interchange of blood between all the world's races, and in a special sense as signifying the union of blacks and whites in this country. On such a topic, if John Milton himself were to write an essay, he would only be speared and knived, scarred and tomahawked, with all the cutlery of criticism. The authorship of the pamphlet is a well-kept secret; at least, it is unknown to us. Nor, after a somewhat careful reading, are we convinced that the writer is in earnest. Our first impression was, and remains, that the work was meant as a piece of pleasantry—a burlesque upon what are popularly called the extreme and fanatical notions of certain radical men named therein. Certainly the essay is not such a one as any of these gentlemen would have written on the subject, though some of their speeches are conspicuously quoted and commended in it.

The author's endeavor is to demonstrate an equality between whites and blacks, both physiologically, and also in other and higher respects; that a mingling of well-developed races produces a race superior to either of its component parts; that such a union of whites and blacks in this country is essential to the highest American progress. This general course of discussion deviates into various side issues; the author writing sometimes soberly, sometimes extravagantly, sometimes absurdly, and always readably. If written in earnest, the work is not thorough enough to be satisfactory; if in jest, we prefer Sydney Smith—or McClellan's Report. Still, to be frank, we agree with a large portion of these pages, but disagree heartily with another portion.

In the epitome of conclusions, we find the following statement:

"7. That, as the rebellion has been caused not so much by slavery as the base prejudice resulting from a distinction of color, perfect peace cannot be restored to our country until that distinction shall measurably cease, by a general absorption of the black race by the white."

Certainly there is very little truth in this statement, or in its deduction. The Rebellion was caused, not by Prejudice against Color, but by Slavery—the proof of which is, that no such prejudice exists at the South, but only at the North. Moreover, the author is inconsistent with himself: speaking here (p. 65) of "a general absorption of the black race by the white," whereas he has previously said just the opposite (p. 17), that "in the course of time the dark races must absorb the white." Nor do we agree that we are to wait for perfect peace in this country until that far-distant future (never to come at all) when all the various bloods that make up our nation—Yankee, German, Irish, English, African—shall be indistinguishably merged in one general current—untraceable outwardly by any individuality of feature or temperament. Has there never yet been peace in the world? But has there ever been any such requisite obliteration of all differences of race? Such a result is not possible. Why should such a prearranged and enforced unity be supposed necessary to the peace of this country? The Germans and the Irish on our soil, even before mingling their blood with ours, do not necessarily war against our peace. An Irishman is not a July rioter by nature; he is made so by Democracy and grog. And the Negro naturally is more peaceable than either Saxon or Celt. It is not half so necessary to American stability that we should absorb the Negro—so losing him by doubly gaining him—as that we should melt down and remold his master according to a better model of man. We are not colonizationists, or expatriationists; but as between getting rid of the negro or of his master, we prefer to let the worse man go, and the better stay. Is Jefferson Davis as good a citizen as his escaped black coachman? Does Gov. Pickens, in the scale of solid value to the country, weigh an ounce to the pound with Robert Small?

We make another quotation:

"8. That it is the duty of anti-slavery men everywhere to advocate miscegenation, or the mingling of all the races on this continent."

Not at all; nor will it ever be; not even till the Day of Judgment. It is no part of the duty of anti-slavery men—or of other sensible men—to advise people whom they should marry, or not marry. It is, on the contrary, the duty of all men to allow all others, who wish to be married, to marry whom they wish. Marriage is an affair between the bride and the bridegroom—with, perhaps, a mother-in-law's advice thrown in. But beyond this, the interference of outside parties is impertinent. While, however, we do not advise the intermarriage of blacks and whites, any more than of whites and whites, we hold that, if they choose to intermarry, it is nobody's business but their own. Further than this, we hold that before a white-skinned slave-master becomes the father of a black woman's child, he ought to be her lawful, wedded husband. As a question of ethics, we would like to know *The Journal of Commerce's* opinion on this point. Will it favor us?

We quote once more:

"10. That in the Millennial future, the most perfect and highest type of manhood will not be white or black, but brown, or colored, and that whoever helps to unite the various races of men, helps to make the human family the sooner realize its great destiny."

It takes a far-seeing man to know what is to happen in the "millennial future." We are living in a very unmillennial Present, whose dust and smoke becloud our eyes into a blindness against To-Morrow. But the idea of scientifically undertaking to intermingle existing populations according to a predetermined plan for reconstructing the human race—for flattening out its present varieties into one final unvarious dead-level of humanity—is so absurd that we are more than ever convinced such a statement was not written in earnest. Here, also, the writer once more contradicts himself; for, after having insisted, in an earlier chapter, that color comes solely of climate—that is, that a different sun and sky make in time a different human face—he here holds that the whole human family will finally be one-colored. But in that day will there be only one climate in the world?

Dismissing the pamphlet, what is the truth concerning the Intermingling of Races? To settle the question justly, one must judge by broad intervals of time; for races are plants of slow growth, requiring centuries for their development. On a chosen spot, a race plants itself; builds institutions; founds an empire; all as if for permanence. But Time, the patient destroyer of all things, unbuilds the empire, rots the institutions, disintegrates the nation itself—recomposing its elements until its former identity is lost, and a new stock takes the place of the old. Human races are evanescent: only the Human Race remains. Looking at the present dominant clans of the world, ask the question, What are their constituent parts? They are the remains of former races. Every great nation has been married into its greatness by a union of many stocks. The present English nation is built upon the fragments of many former nationalities, just as the English language is a polyglot of other languages mingling to make one. The French nation, too, is a rope of many strands—as witness the history which Cæsar left of its early beginnings; or which other historians give of its later re-beginnings—the Carlovingian and Merovingian dynasties. Like a coat of many colors, every great nation is a patch-work out of the shreds and remnants of former nations. The American people is, in like manner, a stock of many grafts. An amalgamation of races is going on here to an extent almost without a parallel in history. Every nation under the sun is making some gift of its blood to our American veins. Immigration from foreign lands was never so multitudinous as now. Leaving out of view our native-born Americans of English descent, there are enough of other stocks on this soil to make three other nations—namely, the Irish, the Germans, and the Negroes. Even the Negroes number one million more than the whole population of the United States at the adoption of the Constitution. But these three stocks have not come hither to establish themselves as distinct peoples: but each to join itself to each, till all together shall be built up into the monumental nation of the earth! Such interminglings, of course, are of slow growth, and not to be hastened. Thrifty nations are not grown like hot-house plants, by forcing. Nature, like God, is patient. Natural affinity between individuals is the one and only law by which races intermingle. Such affinities ripen tardily—not only between persons of different nationalities, but of different opinions and social position in the same nationality. There was a time in England when the Red Rose would not marry the White: a time in New England, when a church-member would not marry a non-church-member. Twenty years ago, an American who married a foreigner was thought to have overstepped propriety: a narrowness of prejudice with which sensible people now-a-days have no sympathy. But because we have Germans and Irish in this country, shall we undertake a political movement to persuade them to intermarry with Americans? Or shall we undertake a similar movement based on Negroes? To make the next Presidential campaign, as our pamphleteer suggests, turn upon the advocacy of marriages between any two classes of our community—Saxons with Celts, fair faces with dark, Northerners with Southerners, Down-East Yankees with Californians—is so absurd as to furnish us another reason for thinking these piquant pages are a snare to catch some good folk in, for a laugh at them afterward. If the question, Who are to be men's wives? is to be made a Presidential one, what shall be said of a late President who had no wife? And what of certain other Presidents, whose wives are said to have been more headstrong than amiable?

We believe the whole human race are one family—born, every individual, with a common prerogative to do the best he can for his own welfare; that in political societies, all men, of whatever various race or color, should stand on an absolute equality before the law; that whites and blacks should intermarry if they wish, and should not unless they wish; that the negro is not to be allowed to remain in this country, but is to remain here without being allowed—asking nobody's permission but his own; that we shall have no permanent settlement of the negro question till our haughtier white blood, looking at the face of a negro, shall forget that he is black, and remember only that he is a citizen. But, on the other hand, we do not believe, with this book, that the rebellion arose from prejudice against color—for if the slaves were white, instead of black, their masters would be no less unwilling to give them up; nor do we believe in any forecasted scheme or humanly-planned union of races; nor that the next Presidential election, nor any succeeding, should have anything to do with Miscegenation; nor can we see any reason why the Human Family will exhibit in the future any less diversity of races than now—but more. Whether or not, according to this anonymous prediction, the universal complexion of the human family at the millennium "will not be white or black, but brown or colored," we certainly believe that the African-tinted members of our community will in the future gradually bleach out their blackness. The facts of to-day prove this beyond denial. Already three-fourths of the colored people of the United States have white blood in their veins. The two bloods have been gradually intermingling ever since there were whites and blacks among our population. This intermingling will continue. Under Slavery, it has been forced and frequent: under Freedom, it will be voluntary and infrequent. But by-and-by—counting the years not by Presidential campaigns, but by centuries—the Negro of the South, growing paler with every generation, will at last completely hide his face under the snow.

MISS DICKINSON IN POINT LACE AND DIAMONDS.

Special Correspondence of The Springfield Republican.

MISS DICKINSON appeared (in Boston) in a new phase—as patronized, popular, and wearing point lace and diamonds. A quarter of an hour before the lecture commenced the hall was full; ladies were standing in the aisles; and no one short of Mr. Emerson or Mrs. Kemble could have drawn a more intellectual audience. The President of the Senate, the Quincys, Russells, Whitings, Forbes's, with their families, were conspicuous on the platform. She came with her sweet girlish eyes and brow, simple, unspoiled as ever; sure of her cause and her charms; absorbed in what she had to say. It was remarked at Washington, that without her pretty little hands she would hardly make so startling an impression; but, whether from accident or design, she held her hands behind her during most of this lecture. By the way, they are not "little"; white and with little fingers, but the palms are stretched as if by work. No, it is the genuineness and womanliness of the girl, her good cause and its eloquent and graceful setting forth that make her popular. In power of description she is a poet as fine as Thompson or Bryant. Some of our best orators who have personal as well as mental charms—for instance, George Curtis and Charles Sumner—are making eyes at their audience all through a lecture; but Miss Dickinson's eyes, while she speaks, have the look of one in a mesmeric trance, save when some sudden touch of feeling dilates them with tears, and makes you feel what gentle, girlish eyes they are. I cannot say that her words impressed me as much on a second as at a first hearing, though the lectures were different; there is too great sameness in her methods, too measured in rythm in her sentences, too close analogy in her figures. Thus she said, in a musical but monotonous tone: "Eighty-nine years ago on these shores a brave army of men battled for their own independence and freedom, and the world looked on and applauded when they won; to-day, on these shores, a brave army of men battles for the fredom of all mankind, and the world looks on, waiting to applaud when we win—and win we will!" I fail in giving the grace, but retain the method of the sentence. Then, her vocabulary is not large enough, and she repeats certain epithets, such as——but why cavil where there is so much to praise? Her allusion to the death of Col. Shaw was admirable; we could hear and see the rush and riot, as "the battle-storm piled that high, enduring, black monument to Heaven, and the white, beautiful face asleep underneath." Her words of scorn for traitors, of sympathy for wounded soldiers, of admiring recognition to veterans "in their faded blue coats," of appeal to young men, are irresistible. I pity the man who can hear them without starting tears and quickened beatings of heart; he does not deserve to die in so good a cause as she advocates.

Among those who crowded about the speaker on the platform were a few who had come to scoff; they seated themselves, as men will, mules, Rocks of Gibralter; thunder-storms should not move them; and as men will, they let the still small voice come round them with its glamour till a look of surprise, indulgence, fascination, crept over their faces—the hard muscles relaxed, tears came, and smiles, and they leaned forward unwilling to lose an accent or a gesture. Take warning, all ye maidens and mothers! There were also on the platform advocates of woman's rights, women of facts and figures, whose minds to that of this little syren were as steel to gossamer; no doubt they despised her easy, illogical, unriveted conquest; but I longed to say to them, "Take warning! instead of setting up your private theories, forever walking over hot plough-shares, and kicking against pricks, 'fasten your wagon to a star,' as this child is doing, and draw the whole world after you." The Lord who made women weak gave them purity, gentleness, tact—woe if they do not use it! Think how our youthful Joan has gone the length and breadth of the land, often alone among strangers, oftenest among politicians and influences such as have spoiled the purest patriotism, uttering the boldest, sauciest and most aggravating, because unanswerable, truths; and after it all flashes back upon us, safe and fresh as St. Margaret from the maw of the dragon. For good is stronger than evil, and

> "So dear to heaven is saintly charity,
> That when a soul is found sincerely so,
> A thousand liveried angels lackey her,
> And in clear dream and solemn vision,
> Tell her of things that no gross ear can hear."

Take warning all ye maidens!

I observed that our English guest (George Thompson) listened with enthusiasm, and took copious notes, during the lecture. By his side sat Garrison, his face working with every good word for his cause or clients! It is touching to see Mr. Garrison at a public meeting. The man who was iron against oppression and opposition, is a tearful child amidst the rounds of applause that are showered upon him now. After loud cheers for Miss Dickinson, Mr. Thompson was called out clamorously for a speech; he made one, short and pithy, praising the lady's effort as for pathos, interest, sarcasm and eloquence the most remarkable he had ever heard on either continent; and waving his hand toward her, he said, "America, be proud of your daughter!" whereat the little girl blushed, and it seemed as if they never would have done applauding. Mr. Thompson contrasted his present position with that which he held on leaving America by constraint 29 years ago, and said, "I have not changed one jot; you have changed, as I then prophesied that you would. We can join hands now in upholding the cause of the oppressed all over the world." He was enthusiastically applauded. Mr. Thompson does not realize our idea of an Englishman; an American rather, tall, slender, gray, thoughtful, intellectual and gentlemanly, though he uses snuff and a red silk handkerchief.

THE BROTHER OF MERCY.

BY JOHN G WHITTIER.

PIERO LUCA, known of all the town
As the grey porter by the Pitti wall,
Where the noon shadows of the gardens fall,
Sick and in dolor, waited to lay down
His last sad burden, and beside his mat
The barefoot monk of La Certosa sat.

Unseen, in square and blossoming garden drifted,
Soft sunset lights through green Val d' Arno sifted;
Unheard, below the living shuttles shifted
Backward and forth, and wove, in love or strive,
In mirth or pain, the mottled web of life;
But when at last came upward from the street
Tinkle of bell and tread of measured feet,
The sick man started, strove to rise in vain,
Sinking back heavily with a moan of pain.
And the monk said, "'Tis but the Brotherhood
Of Mercy going on some errand good;
Their black masks by the palace-wall I see."
Piero answered faintly, "Woe is me!
This day for the first time in forty years
In vain the bell hath sounded in my ears,
Calling me with my brethren of the mask,
Beggar and prince alike, to some new task
Of love or pity—haply from the street
To bear a wretch plague-stricken, or, with feet
Hushed to the quickened ear and feverish brain,
To tread the crowded lazaretto's floors,
Down the long twilight of the corridors,
'Midst tossing arms and faces full of pain.
I loved the work: it was its own reward.
I never counted on it to offset
My sins, which are many, or make less my debt
To the free grace and mercy of our Lord;
But somehow, father, it has come to be
In these long years so much a part of me,
I should not know myself, if lacking it.
But with the work the worker too would die,
And in my place some other self would sit
Joyful or sad—what matters, if not I?
And now all's over. Woe is me!"—"My son,"
The monk said soothingly, "thy work is done;
And no more as a servant, but the guest
Of God thou enterest thy eternal rest.
No toil, no tears, no sorrow for the lost
Shall mar thy perfect bliss. Thou shalt sit down
Clad in white robes, and wear a golden crown
Forever and forever."—Piero tossed
On his sick pillow: "Miserable me!
I am too poor for such grand company;
The crown would be too heavy for this grey
Old head; and God forgive me, if I say,
It would be hard to sit there night and day,
Like an image in the Tribune, doing naught
With these hard hands, that all my life have wrought,
Not for bread only, but for pity's sake.
I'm dull at prayers: I could not keep awake,
Counting my beads. Mine's but a crazy head,
Scarce worth the saving, if all else be dead.
And if one goes to heaven without a heart,
God knows he leaves behind his better part.
I love my fellow-men; the worst I know
I would do good to. Will death change me so
That I shall sit among the lazy saints,
Turning a deaf ear to the sore complaints
Of souls that suffer? Why, I never yet
Left a poor dog in the *strada* hard beset,
Or ass o'erladen! Must I rate man less
Than dog or ass, in holy selfishness?
Methinks (Lord, pardon, if the thought be sin!)
The world of pain were better, if therein
One's heart might still be human, and desires
Of natural pity drop upon its fires
Some cooling tears."
Thereat the pale monk crossed
His brow, and muttering, "Madman! thou art lost!"
Took up his pyx and fled; and, left alone,
The sick man closed his eyes with a great groan
That sank into a prayer, "Thy will be done!"

Then was he made aware, by soul or ear,
Of somewhat pure and holy bending o'er him,
And of a voice like that of her who bore him,
Tender and most compassionate: "Be of cheer?
For heaven is love, as God himself is love;
Thy work below shall be thy work above."
And when he looked, lo! in the stern monk's place
He saw the shining of an angel's face!

—*Atlantic Monthly for March.*

REV. DR. MASSIE'S REPORT ON HIS VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES.

A MEETING of the Executive Committee of the Union and Emancipation Society was held in Manchester, England, Feb. 1, to receive a report from the Rev. Dr. Massie, who, with Mr. Rylance, was appointed at a meeting held in June to lay before the American clergy and Churches the address of the 4,000 French Protestant ministers, and the response that was given to it by England:

The Rev. Dr. Massie said his mission to America had produced so much matter, that he had compiled his report in the shape of a thick printed volume, a copy of which he would hand to the Chairman, to whom the work was dedicated. He had presented his two addresses as he had been deputed, and, as far as possible, he had avoided political turmoil, and adhered to broad anti-slavery principles. He was introduced by Mr. Seward to the English Embassador, who read his documents and instructions. Lord Lyons said he rejoiced in the mission, and wished Dr. Massie success; he said he anticipated great good from it, and he could see no objection to Dr. Massie's interview with the President. He (Dr. Massie) accordingly had that interview, and entered into a long, full and free conversation with him. He also had interviews with other government officials, and among others with Mr. Sumner. Mr. Sumner informed him of the popularity of Mr. Bright, M.P., in America, and of the measures he had taken, on Mr. Bright's request, to induce the President not to permit any sentence to be inflicted on a young man who had been charged with piracy in the neighborhood of California. He (Dr. Massie) was introduced in New York to about thirty ministers of religion, and through their influence he met not fewer than 1,500 other ministers who were ready to welcome his message, and reply to it in the love of freedom. His visit to the States had shown him how desirous the President was to keep on friendly terms with this country, and how altered was the feeling of the Americans with regard to slavery. Missouri, which was peopled by ruffians in the time of the Kansas agitation, was now anti-slavery more than Pennsylvania—Maryland, a border slave State, would thank God and take courage, if every slave she had was somewhere else. Kentucky was afraid the movement would compel freedom even in that State. From the east to the west, from the north to the south, the educated, the enlightened and religious people of the United States were as one man for this one purpose—that the rebellion should be crushed into the dust, and that the slavery of the negro should be buried in the same grave (applause). The army of the North was an army of patriots, and the death of every soldier was a renewed consecration to the cause of freedom.

Rev. Dr. Massie's work on America, and her Present Conflict, just received in this country, is a neat volume of 400 pages, post octavo, bound in cloth, and is sold at two dollars—a price necessary to cover the high rate of exchange. But the book is well worth the money, to all who made the acquaintance of Dr. Massie, as a remembrancer of his mission, and it will be valuable to the whole community, as a portion of the history of these times. The perusal of it presents him as a competent observer, rightly discerning the origin and the issue of our conflict, and committing himself throughout to the Union, and its defenders. The book contains all the addresses that were formally presented to Dr. Massie, while in this country, and it is enlivened by incidents of travel, and by personal anecdote. Its spirit is most hearty and Christian. Copies may be obtained through Mr. John Austen Stevens, Jr., Box 3,842, New York Post Office.

A VERY HAPPY WOMAN took the cars a few nights ago for New York. Three days previous, she entered Washington on the verge of insanity. Her only boy had fallen into the hands of a substitute broker, while on a visit to New Haven, and, though not sixteen years old, was abducted into the army. The broker received $300 for the transaction, and promised the boy that he would send it to his mother, which, of course, he did not do, and never thought of doing. The mother simply missed her boy, and knew not where he was. It was a partial relief at last to find that he was in the Army of the Potomac; but, possessing an intense nature, she soon became wrought up to a pitch of excitement on the subject that bordered on insanity. The boy had been driven or coaxed into taking an oath that he was eighteen years old when he entered the service, and, having taken it, there was no means by which he could be released. Gov. Buckingham laid the facts before the War Department. Gov. Andrew took the case up anew, and did not succeed. The mother of the lad could not become reconciled to the injustice of being deprived of her boy, not sixteen years old, and she came to Washington one day last week. People who saw her called her a crazy woman. A member of Congress (Mr. Dawes, of Mass.) determined that the President should hear her story, and made an appointment for the poor woman and himself with Mr. Lincoln. When brought into the presence of the President she completely broke down, but the member of Congress presented the principal facts of her case. The evidence that the lad was under the age fixed by law as a limit to volunteering was indisputable, and Mr. Lincoln very quickly wrote an order for the discharge of the young soldier. It seemed impossible, however, to restore the mother to calmness; if she cried before for sorrow, she now cried as heartily for joy, and she left Washington praying that Heaven's kindest blessings might fall upon the heads of two men—the President and the member of Congress who took her to see him!—*Wash. Cor. Independent.*

THE CONSCRIPT QUAKERS OF NORTH CAROLINA.

Correspondence of The N. Y. Tribune.

PHILADELPHIA, Feb. 3, 1864.

SHORTLY after the battle of Gettysburg, you published a letter from this city, giving the outlines of the case of several North Carolina Friends who had been forced into the rebel army. The main facts were correctly stated, but many interesting particulars were overlooked. Since then, the parties themselves have written a narrative of their perilous adventures and deliverance, which must possess much interest to the large numbers of the Society who read *The Tribune*, as well as in the eyes of all others who are conscientiously scrupulous against bearing arms. I therefore send you full particulars.

Four of these Friends, Thomas Hinshaw, aged 32, his brother Jacob, aged 29, Cyrus Barker, aged 22, and his brother Nathan, aged 20, were residents of Guilford County, all farmers, and all married except the last named. In October, 1862, an armed guard came to Thomas Hinshaw's house while his wife was getting breakfast, and, notwithstanding the entreaties of the latter, the guard forced him away to camp with scarcely any opportunity to prepare for his absence, or to take leave of his family. Jacob was taken out of bed at night, and carried off in the same hasty and unfeeling manner. Cyrus and Nathan Barker were treated in the same summary way. On reaching camp, an officer ordered them to procure conveyances to take them to Ashborough, 15 miles off, where the conscripts were to assemble. Unwilling to do any act which would seem to be countenancing war, they told the officer that they felt themselves to be prisoners, brought there and held against their will, and that they could not procure means for their own constrained transportation to the rendezvous. They were accordingly permitted to go home for that night, but under care of a guard.

Next day they were again taken to Ashborough, and required to give bonds for their appearance at that place on the 4th of November, or be sent to jail. They were unwilling to give bonds, whereupon the guard was told to conduct them to jail. But the guards were very unwilling to do this, and urged the Friends to comply with the officer's command. Some of them even offered to give bond for them, but they could not consent to their doing so. Their simple promise was then taken that they would report themselves at a specified time, and they were allowed to return home, where they remained until Nov. 3. Next day their promise was to be fulfilled. Accordingly, leaving their families and friends in great affliction, they tore themselves away, and on the morning of the 4th reached the rendezvous. Here they were joined by seventy other conscripts, and were sent to Raleigh. Two whom they thus met were Friends by right of membership. One was discharged by reason of feeble health, but the other, being of little faith, paid his $500 commutation, and went his way. The four Friends could not in conscience pay anything for avoiding what they believed to be an evil, and preferred to suffer, relying on God for protection and support through the trying scenes that awaited them.

From Raleigh they were taken to Blackwater, Va., so closely packed in cars that none could lie down, with little food and no water for 24 hours. They were assigned to the 52d North Carolina Regiment, Col. Marshall. On being directed to choose which company they would be attached to, they replied that their religious principles forbade their engaging in any military service, or to choose any company. They again refused to pay the commutation money, though tempted by the promise that it should be applied to civil purposes only. The fact of other Friends having paid the commutation was thrown up to them, but while the weakness of these fellow-members only increased their distress, they continued to decline all part in the war. Col. Marshall, finding he could not in any way induce them to comply, put them into Capt. Kincaid's company. This officer proved very friendly to them. He knew nothing of Friends nor of their peace-loving principles, but was soon conciliated by their quiet and consistent conduct. The First Lieutenant was harsh, requiring them to draw knapsacks, as they must carry guns. They replied that they had no use for guns, and did not expect to carry any, as they had a testimony against fighting. They argued the question with him, quoted Scripture, and so confuted all the grounds he took as to drive him to the weak device of saying that the Scriptures were translated by men who did not understand the language in which they were written. He left them, however, much discontented, saying there was a way to force them.

The next day the Lieutenant ordered them to clear off ground for a new encampment, but they declined, giving reasons why. He became excited, ordered his men to compel them with the bayonet, but the soldiers were unwilling to do so. The men, though obliged apparently to obey orders, did not hurt the Friends much when driving them with their bayonets. Capt. Kincaid, seeing the difficulty, took the Lieutenant aside, forbade the use of further force, and told the Friends they might remain quiet where they were. This was a very trying test of faith and trust in God, but these peace-loving men were strengthened to maintain their religious principles with unshaken firmness. The harsh Lieutenant became so softened by their patient endurance, that when a Virginia Friend came to ask permission to take them to his house near by, he pleaded with Col. Marshall to grant it. It was granted, and under it they visited other Friends at Blackwater, and attended a meeting for worship.

To overcome the sturdy religious convictions of these men, the rebels plied them with offers of employment as cooks, nurses, and wagoners; also, with bounties, clothing, and stores. But they could in no way touch what they believed to be the unclean thing. They declined all, yet neither Captain nor Lieutenant would allow them to be forced. The Colonel, however, declared that something must be done, and that they should go into service. Hereupon they began to reason with him, but he was not disposed to argue, ordered his men to force them to load fodder, and then rode off. They declined as before. The soldiers tried to compel them, threatening hanging, drowning, shooting, while some were ordered to bayonet them. But the Friends remaining quiet and calm, they received but little injury. Yet they were tied to a wagon tail and driven three miles, through mud and water to the fodder, and again ordered to help in loading, but again declining, they were not forced. Still tied to the wagon they were driven back to camp.

Though often sharply threatened after this, yet no further coercion was used, and they were merely required to keep up with the army, but not to march in the ranks. Their food was scanty, so bad as to be hardly eatable, while they suffered all manner of exposure during a long Winter. The profanity and wickedness around them was especially trying to them. In January, 1863, they obtained a furlough to visit their families. On the back of their furlough Gen. Pettigrew wrote that "they were of no manner of use in the army," and Gen. Hill added the additional compliment that "they were not worth a straw to the army." Nothing could more strongly prove their fidelity to the principles they professed.

Again, on the 12th of March, they were compelled to undergo the trial of parting from their families and returning to camp. After this the regiment frequently changed positions. At Fredericksburg they witnessed the horrors of a battle-field, and thence, through terrible marches, they were taken to Gettysburg. They were kept in the rear until the last day of that memorable battle, when orders came for every one to advance and fill up the thinned ranks of the regiments which had been engaged. All the officers of their regiment, from captains up to colonels, had been killed or wounded. The Friends did not advance, and were arrested in consequence. Taken before an officer, they explained to him their religious scruples, and, though he told them to join their regiment, yet he intimated to the guard that they need not be forced. The harsh Lieutenant, before mentioned, was now in command of the regiment, so terribly had it been cut up. Even he was indulgent. He told them he knew they could not fight, adding that he could not blame them for not fighting, and that, so far as he was concerned, they might go where they pleased. He said that if they went to the field they could lie down there, and might possibly be unhurt. Pausing a little, he told the Friends they might go to the hospital and stay there till the battle was over. He even went with them about a mile and a half, but, on reaching the hospital, they found the wounded had been removed, and the Lieutenant then told the Friends they might follow them.

Thus these stanch adherents to principle were preserved from death at Gettysburg. On their way after the wounded they were stopped and taken before a Provost-Marshal, who said they must get a written pass. They returned to the camp they had left in the morning, weary and soaked with rain, it being then nearly dark. Presently, word came that the regiment had retreated, and was already a mile or two off. Those in the camp at once took flight, leaving the Friends alone. They, too, departed, but the mud was deep, the night dark, and progress so laborious that they sat down under a fence all night. In the morning, approaching some houses, they were kindly entertained, and harvest work given to them. While thus employed, they were taken by the Union cavalry and imprisoned in Fort Delaware.

The fifth Friend, William B. Hockett, was conscripted June 8, 1863, and immediately came under charge of perfect ruffians. On all occasions he testified against war, and avowed his conscientious scruples against in any way participating in it. At one time he was told that he must obey or be shot. He replied that he preferred dying to violating his conscience. The officer was disarmed by the arguments which Hockett addressed to him, and instead of shooting him, sent him to the wagon-yard. Next day he refused to be one of a foraging party, telling the Colonel he could take no part in the war, nor could he help him in taking what did not belong to them. The Colonel became greatly exasperated, and ordered a musket to be tied to his back. But Hockett would not rise from the ground while the weapon was on his back. The Colonel then ordered his men to run him through with bayonets. This they apparently undertook to do, but all were careful not to injure him. No bayonet reached his body. Still more excited the officer ordered the men to shoot him. Hockett replied to this savage order by saying that if they were permitted to take his life, the language of his heart was, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do." The men refused to obey the order, saying that they could not shoot such a man. The officer, more enraged than ever, struck him over the head, spurred his horse, and rode over the prostrated man. He tried repeatedly to get the horse to trample on him, but the horse's feet did not touch him. As he finally left him, he declared that he was not yet done with him, and that he would yet make him fight or kill him.

At Gettysburg this ruffian officer was killed. Hockett suffered intolerable abuse on other occasions. At Gettysburg, however, he was too ill to be even expected to take part in the battle. He found shelter and kindness in a farm-house in the neighborhood. Here the Union cavalry discovered him, took him to Fort Delaware, and there he was seriously ill. A week after his arrival the four other Friends were brought in, and this was the first information they had of each others' having been conscripted. Here they were soon discovered by members of the Society in Philadelphia, who obtained discharges on their taking the affirmation of allegiance. They are now among their friends in the West, but up to this time are ignorant of the condition of their families.

WHAT OF THE DAY?

[The following lines, entitled, "What of the Day?" were sent to the Autograph Committee of the Great Western Sanitary Fair, at Cincinnati, by John G. Whittier. This autograph manuscript, together with a number of other autograph poems contributed by the authors, many of them unpublished, will be sold at auction on the 15th and 16th days of March next:]

A SOUND of tumult troubles all the air,
Like the low thunder of a sultry sky,
Far rolling ere the downright lightnings glare,
The hills blaze red with warnings; foes draw nigh,
Treading the dark with challenge and reply!
Behold the burden of the Prophet's vision—
The gathering hosts, the Valley of Decision,
Dusk with the wings of eagles hovering o'er!
Day of the Lord, of darkness and not light,
It breaks in thunder and the whirlwind's roar!
Even so, Father; let Thy will be done
In mercy or in judgment. As for me,
If but the least and frailest, let me be
Ever more numbered with the truly free,
Who find Thy service perfect liberty.
I fain would thank Thee that my mortal life
Has reached the hour (albeit thro' care and pain)
When Good and Evil, as for final strife,
Close dim and vast on Armageddon's plain;
And Michael and his angels once again
Drive howling back the spirits of the Night!
Oh! for the faith to read the signs aright,
And from the angel of Thy perfect sight
See Truth's white banner floating on before;
And the good cause, despite of venal friends
And base expedients, move to noble ends;
See Peace with Freedom make to time amends;
And thro' its cloud of dust, Thy threshing floor,
Flailed by Thy thunders, heaped with chaffless grain!

JOHN G. WHITTIER.

A SATISFACTORY EXPLANATION.—The Rev. Francis Newbold, of Rose Cottage, Lyndhurst, Hants, England, was recently charged before a London magistrate with assaulting the police and using abusive language. He was sixty years of age, and could not plead "the frivolity of youth" in his defence. But he did just as well. The magistrate said:

"This is a serious offence, considering the station you seem to move in. Have you anything to say?"

To which Mr. Newbold replied:

"The fact is, that after I had an early dinner yesterday I had a pint of dry port, and this made me so very dry that I called for a glass of sparkling wine. It was so nice that I had a second. I then went down to the station, as I thought quite right, but when I got on to the platform the cork, as I might so say, seemed to get out, and the wine went about me.

The reverend gentleman may not have satisfied justice, but he conferred a boon upon the reporters, who will hereafter speak of a drunken man not as one "with a brick in his hat," or "tight," or "boosy," or "exposed too long to the sun," but as a man with the "cork out."

ANECDOTE OF DR. BETHUNE.—A friend writes us from Florence a good story about the late Dr. Bethune, which we must share with our readers. Two English clergymen were calling on him, in Florence, and the conversation turning upon the war in the United States, one of them said to the Doctor: "You need a king in your country, sir!" "A king?" replied the Doctor, "do you know how there came to be a king?" "Well," said the clergyman, "God gave him to the Jews in his anger." "Yes," responded the Doctor, "and do you know who was the first king?" "Saul, of course," said the clergyman. "Yes." rejoined the Doctor, "and Saul was a driver of asses—the only beings that want kings." But," said the clergyman, again, "one of the offices of Christ was that of a king." "True," rejoined the Doctor, with great animation and dignity, "and the *man* who usurps that office; does in the *state* what the *Pope of Rome* does in the *church!*" The advocates of royalty, on this, subsided—so says our informant who heard the whole.—*Boston Congregationalist.*

"THE ENGLISHWOMAN'S *Journal*" (Jarrold and Sons) has undergone considerable improvement. All the topics in the current number are of an extremely interesting character. We may especially notice Miss Bessie Parkes's Review of the Last Six Years, which contains much to encourage those who seek to elevate the social and legal condition of women. The article on "Accomplices" goes to the root of moral responsibility; and the anecdote of the young lady who could give no better reason for sympathizing with the Confederates than that the Southerners "of family" were "charming" people, shows how superficially opinions may be formed and how entirely creatures of prejudice some persons are. We are glad to see the beginning of an able and discriminating review of Wendell Phillips's career as an orator and an Abolitionist. The women of America have had no nobler or more successful champion than this peerless advocate of the slave.—*London Dial.*

DEATH OF ADELAIDE ANN PROCTER.—Adelaide Ann Procter, the poetess, daughter of "Barry Cornwall," is dead. Her "legends and lyrics" are well-known and highly appreciated in this country, where her sweet song had made her many friends. The *Athenæum* says of her sickness:

"On the private life of one so reserved as she was in every point of display (let the success be ever so flattering) it would be wrong to dwell. Suffice it to say, that the illness which conducted her to the grave had been long and wasting, submissively and cheerfully borne. Its approach (her health had been delicate from childhood) was, perhaps, accelerated by her earnest participation in what she concieved to be works of mercy and duty."

THE NURSES OF ROYALTY.—Rev. M. D. Conway in a letter to *The Commonwealth*, thus shows one of the many forms of court etiquette, which restrict the will and affections of English Princes: "I learn that there was quite a rebellion at Windsor Castle. The Princess vehemently opposed having a wetnurse, and the Prince took her side, and could not see why she should not be allowed to nurse the babe, as she strongly desired to do. But she was told that the Court traditions could not be set aside; never was English prince or princess yet nursed by its own mother. So the healthy and virtuous Mrs. O'Somebody was sent for and the Princess had a long cry. This is a true story and somewhat more valuable than ordinary court gossip."

THE LADIES' EMANCIPATION SOCIETY of London have published a series of excellent tracts on the slavery question (London: Emily Faithful). "The Red-Flag in John Bull's Eyes," by Miss Cobbe, exhibits the folly of those who anticipated that negro emancipation would lead to white extermination. Miss Isa Craig gives the essence of slavery as described in Mrs. Kemble's "Journal of a Residence on a Georgian Plantation." In "Who are the Canters?" Professor Cairnes turns the tables upon the friends of the South, and proves that they are the "canters"